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ORIAL

DAT'S DISSENTERS

Although President Anwar el-Sadat defended his recent crackdown on his domestic critics as a blow against religious extremists, the dragnet also scooped up journalists, former Cabinet ministers, professors and lawyers. In short, a veritable Who's Who of respected intellectuals. The raids belie Sadat's pretensions—chiefly for American consumption—of being a democratic leader.

Sadat must, of course, be given his due for having had the courage to initiate the Camp David process by making the journey to Jerusalem four years ago, but what slim hope there is of breathing new life into the failed Palestinian autonomy talks—the real heart of the accords—can only be diminished by his latest actions, which will dam up popular passions for a later explosion or, at the least, create an illiberal atmosphere unconducive to peace.

The Moslem opposition has grown in strength and restiveness, and Sadat blames it for the sectarian street riots in Cairo last June in which sixty people were killed. The conservative Moslems espouse a brand of puritanism that has a particular appeal to young idealists who are fed up with (or excluded from) Sadat's new consumer society. There is also nationalistic resentment against the United States' conspicuous role in Egyptian affairs.

At first, many Egyptians welcomed the billions of dollars in American aid and believed that an enhanced American presence would have a liberalizing effect. It has not, and Sadat's repressive measures may now stem from his need to defend the Camp David accords and U.S. interests against mounting criticism. The eager volunteer to be the next U.S.-backed policeman of the Persian Gulf should release his political prisoners, lest he suffer the same fate as the previous holder of the title.

TEACHING THE 'RIGHT' STUFF
Peter H. Stone

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL
Sarah Nordgren
Andrea Gabriel

McCARTHYISM ON CAMPUS
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Gail Pool

OPEN LETTER TO THE SENATE

DON'T REPEAL THE CLARK AMENDMENT

DICK CLARK

To the members of the United States Senate:

Five years ago, the vast majority of the Senate joined the House of Representatives in passing a measure that barred U.S. covert military assistance to political factions in Angola—the Clark Amendment, which I introduced. Now, in response to the Reagan Administration's request to repeal this restriction, the Senate is about to debate the question once again. I urge you to consider the following facts before taking final action.

When the Foreign Relations Committee made its recommendations to the full Senate, there was considerable discussion between some of its members and representatives of the State Department, who argued that the restriction was an unwarranted interference with the President's power to conduct foreign policy. They contended that the central issue was not whether covert military assistance should be provided to guerrilla forces in Angola but rather whether we should continue to place legislative handcuffs on the President.

We should recall that this Administration has made no recommendation to lift analogous Congressional restrictions on trade to Communist countries. More important, President Reagan is on record as strongly favoring military aid to the guerrilla forces in Angola under Jonas Savimbi, which are committed to the violent overthrow of the established government. As the President told *The Wall Street Journal* in May last year: "Well, frankly I would provide them [UNITA] with weapons. . . . apparently he [Savimbi] has got quite a force there. I don't see why we

(*Continued on Page 230*)

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LETTERS.

DEFAMING ARABS

Washington, D.C.

As an Arab who has long been opposed to higher natural gas prices, I am more than a little dismayed at the cartoon that appeared in the midst of Fred Cook's "Putting a Cap on Our Natural Gas" [*The Nation*, July 11-18], which in no way serves to illustrate the point of the article. Nowhere does Cook suggest that "Uncle Sam is in bed with the Ay-rabs" (which is, I take it, the crude point suggested by the cartoon).

What I am left to conclude is that the cartoon was added as a tasteless cheap shot at the Arabs. I would have expected that *The Nation* would be above such gratuitous insults and ethnic slurs. But, if this is the course you will choose, can we look forward to seeing caricatures of the likes of "Frito Bandito," fat Jewish bankers and drunken Irishmen illustrating future articles in *The Nation*?

Surely an apology is in order.

James G. Abourezk
Organizing Director
American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

READ-IN ON GUATEMALA

New York City

As a follow-up to Penny Lernoux's important overview of the situation in Latin America ["Latin America: A Political Guide to Thirty-Three Nations," *The Nation*, Aug. 22-29] and the reference to *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* by Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger [editorial, "Guatemalan Reversal," *The Nation*, July 25-Aug. 1], forthcoming this winter from Doubleday, *Nation* readers should be alerted to several currently available sources of information on Latin America.

The core chapters of my book, *The Declassified Eisenhower: A Divided Legacy of Peace and Political Warfare* (Doubleday), detail the overthrow of the Arbenz government of Guatemala by the United States in 1954. Based on U.S. materials declassified after almost a decade of appeals through the now-endangered Freedom of Information Act, as well as on the Guatemalan government records that were removed from Guatemala in 1954 as part of the cleanup for the Central Intelligence Agency-State Department operation—more than 50,000 documents "lost" since the 1950s—these chapters present the consequences of the systematic overthrow of a popular government. The subsequent abandonment of all political and human rights in Guatemala by U.S.-supported regimes has resulted in a spiral of violence, torture and repression. For thirty years there have been no final victories.

The ongoing brutality has been fully documented in Amnesty International's report *Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder* and updated in Amnesty's recent "Testimony on Guatemala" submitted on July 30 to the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. These reports are available from Amnesty's Washington office, 705 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C., 20003.

In addition, Richard Immermann's full study, *They Cried Wolf: The U.S. and Guatemala*, will be published this autumn, and a special emergency issue of *Contemporary Marxism*, "Revolution and Intervention in Central America," which features documents from El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala, and an overview of the past fifty years by Susanne Jonas, is available from the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis, 608 Taraval Street, San Francisco, California, 94116.

Blanche Wiesen Cook

MANICHAEANS & MAMMONITES

Rochester, N.Y.

Your editorial "Moral Blacklist" [*The Nation*, July 11-18] concerning attempts by the New Right to censor TV is, I believe, inadequate. When powerful social forces like the Moral Majority and the TV magnates clash over program content, it is cold comfort to be told that censorship is bad. No doubt your readers are aware that commercial TV censors unprofitable ideas and programs and that the Moral Majority would censor "immoral" beliefs and practices. Each wishes the freedom to pursue its own form of censorship. *The Nation* must do more than lament all of this while holding aloft the tattered banner of free expression. It should offer its readers a perspective that could establish an understanding of, and thereby a counter to, the Manichaeans and the mammonites.

The key to the dilemma, I think, is to recognize that conservative moralists and capitalists operate for, as well as against, a free society. Capitalism creates space for new entrepreneurs (though only as a result of periodically eliminating them) whose social instincts oppose concentrated power and whose market operations help to create a network of relationships that indirectly supports a variety of social perspectives and expressions. Moralists, again indirectly, operate so as to prevent technological and organizational impulses from reaching their logical conclusion. While it is true that capitalists often act politically (though not economically) as conservative moralists, and that the latter readily accept material impulses when turned against "evil," the two are often enemies.

The fact that capitalism and fundamentalism operate in part (however unintentionally) to preserve freedom and that each undermines the other does not only mean that progressives must not join the one to destroy the other. More importantly, the dialectical character of these social forces means that the political wars of progressives must be fought not in total opposition to rednecks and organization men but in alliance with the liberating aspects of each.

The key is to realize not only the threat from the right and the media but the promise that their current conflict implies. Freedom is advanced not only by the defiance of tyranny but by the building of societies in which tyrants cannot arise. Indeed, to create freedom is more noble work than to defend it.

Jules R. Benjamin

FIGHTING LIBEL HARASSMENT

Jamaica, N.Y.

In "Libel as a Political Weapon" [*The Nation*, June 6], Eve Pell discussed the problem of political activists on the left who are being harassed by frivolous (i.e., without merit) libel suits. Her point was that the defense of these lawsuits entails large costs and a large expenditure of time and other resources. She concluded that there was no remedy for the victims.

As an attorney with experience in the area of libel litigation, I can state that there are remedies available to persons who are forced to expend time and money defending themselves against frivolous lawsuits.

First, the victim of such a lawsuit may countersue for malicious prosecution, abuse of process or prima facie tort, which is defined as the infliction of intentional harm without excuse or economic or social justification.

In addition to bringing a countersuit against the party who brought the original lawsuit, the victim of the first suit may bring a similar suit against the attorney who represented the other party.

Furthermore, all attorneys are subject to the attorneys' Code of Professional Responsibility. Provisions in this code prohibit attorneys from commencing lawsuits that are without merit and that are initiated solely for the purpose of harassing or maliciously injuring the other party. Therefore, it may be appropriate for the victim of such a lawsuit to make a complaint to a bar association grievance committee, or disciplinary committee, against the attorney who commenced the suit. Many attorneys are very fearful of disciplinary proceedings, which can lead to disbarment or suspension of the right to practice law. Therefore, complaints to a grievance committee may have a salutary effect.

Eugene Prosnitz
Queens Legal Services Corp.

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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EDITORIALS.

Equal Education

Recently, Secretary of Education Terrel Bell took time off from the weighty responsibilities of abolishing his department to expound his philosophy of education on *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report*. It was another demonstration of preprogrammed Reaganspeak, in which what you hear ain't what you'll get.

The biggest problem confronting public education today, the future ex-secretary opined, is the "failure of teen-age education" evidenced in falling college entrance examination scores. After scattering clichés about the loss of "rigor" and "discipline," Bell zeroed in on one of the chief sins of the past: too much concern with the "bottom level"—the disadvantaged and the slow learners. Overweening Federal programs have too long dictated that public education "must meet the needs of the poor"; they have "shifted our priorities down to the lower range of our students. That's why teen-agers aren't achieving."

The pitch was hardball new Federalism with the old reliable Laffer curve as a change-up. Get the government out of education, turn it back to the states via block grants and cut taxes to free the investment funds that will create jobs, thus reinvigorating the local tax base and generating more money for the schools. But Bell was also enunciating a prescription for the abandonment of the egalitarian goals of public education in favor of a "two-tier" system catering to the middle and upper classes.

Thus, there is considerable import in the Administration's

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recent proposal in Congress to cut drastically the school lunch program, which for thirty-five years has sought to provide a significant amount of the day's nutrition for poor children who don't get it at home. Not only will poor children be underfed; they will also be put on short rations of learning by the curtailment of programs designed to make up for the lack of the home influences that give middle-class children a head start. The cuts in Title I aid to inner-city schools that the Administration is seeking are part and parcel of this campaign. Add to all this the drive against busing as a legal measure of last resort in desegregating schools, the effect of which will be to ratify permanently "white flight" to the suburbs, and you have the growing pall of inequality over American public education.

To the fiscal crises and racial issues that are dogging local school systems add the divisive ax-grinding by New Right and fundamentalist groups. The creationists use the teaching of a venerable scientific theory in biology courses—the theory of evolution—as a pretext for circumventing the First Amendment and introducing Christian myths into the curriculum. Beyond this, book burnings are on the rise, and school and public librarians are harassed as never before.

More subtle are the efforts of right-wing foundations like the Institute for Educational Affairs, discussed by Peter Stone on page 231, to purge the colleges of their allegedly "liberal" indoctrination; the insinuation of big-business propaganda into the schools via Adopt-a-School, which Sarah Nordgren and Andrea Gabriel describe in its Denver incarnation on page 235, and the still-urgent lessons of the witch-hunt era on campus, discussed by Sigmund Diamond on page 238.

Free and equal *public* education, available to all—that is the democratic ideal. Today, it is in jeopardy.

The Long Tilt

George Griffin is not, as the Indian press charges, an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency; he is a bona fide U.S. Foreign Service officer. Nevertheless, Griffin's appointment as a political counselor to our New Delhi embassy was recently rejected by the Indian government. New Delhi officially attributed its decision to Griffin's "difficult attitude toward India and his intelligence connections."

The Reagan Administration promptly retaliated by refusing to accept the credentials of Griffin's newly appointed Indian counterpart at India's embassy in Washington. And the State Department charges that "Mr. Griffin had been a target of a Soviet disinformation campaign."

In fact, Griffin is the casualty not of any Soviet plot but of an article published in *The Nation* last year [see Lawrence Lifschultz and Kai Bird, "Kissinger's Bangladesh Sideshow," June 21, 1980]. The Indian press picked up on the article and the book from which it was adapted (*Bangladesh: The Unfinished Revolution*, Lawrence Hill Press) and put pressure on the Indian government to reject Griffin's appointment.

Griffin symbolizes to the Indians Washington's perennial pro-Pakistani "tilt." As reported by Lifschultz and Bird, during the 1971 war in which East Pakistan seceded and became the independent nation of Bangladesh, Griffin conducted, at Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's behest, eight secret meetings in Calcutta with the Acting Foreign Secretary of the provisional government of Bangladesh, Khondakar Mustaque Ahmed. Kissinger and Griffin were trying to persuade Mustaque Ahmed and his right-wing faction of the provisional government to settle for less than full independence for Bangladesh. They did not succeed because the meetings were discovered by Mustaque's Bengali colleagues, and he was dismissed as Foreign Secretary for having "betrayed" the cause of Bengali independence. The Indians were infuriated at what they saw as an attempt by Kissinger to sow dissension among the members of Bangladesh's provisional government; New Delhi viewed East Pakistan's independence as the only solution to the bloody nine-month civil war.

Coincidentally, four years later Mustaque Ahmed planned the coup in which Bangladesh's president and founding father, Mujibur Rahman, was assassinated. At the time, India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, charged that the coup had been instigated by the C.I.A. This charge has never been proven, but Lifschultz and Bird did reveal that Kissinger and Griffin had been well aware that a group of Bengali dissidents was planning to topple Mujib. Six months earlier, personnel from the American Embassy in Dacca had met several times with such a group and relayed its intentions to Washington.

After *The Nation* article appeared, Representative Stephen Solarz, Democrat of New York, made inquiries to the State Department, which eventually confirmed the story. Solarz later wrote Lifschultz: "The State Department readily admits that it had contacts in 1971 with several Bengali officials who were interested in discussing arrangements that would have allowed Bangladesh to remain part of Pakistan. . . . With respect to the Embassy meetings in [the] November 1974-January 1979 period with opponents of the Rahman regime, the State Department once again does not deny that the meetings took place. However, the Department does claim that it notified Rahman about the meetings, including the possibility of a coup. This would seem to put these meetings in a less conspiratorial light."

But did the State Department reveal the names of the coup planners to Mujib? This seems highly unlikely. And did the Dacca C.I.A. station chief, Philip Cherry, continue contacts with them right up to the actual coup, as charged by one Foreign Service officer? And did Griffin, who by 1975 was head of Intelligence and Research for South Asia at the State Department, and Kissinger welcome the replacement of the pro-Indian Mujib with the pro-Pakistani Mustaque Ahmed? The Indians think so.

U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick made it very clear to the Indians, during her swing through South Asia last month, that the Reagan Administration would continue Kissinger's pro-Pakistani policy by providing massive new arms shipments to Pakistan's military dictator, Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

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Thus, the Indians had to take umbrage. Griffin's posting to New Delhi symbolized Washington's long tilt toward Pakistan.

Election Update

Last month, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders endorsed what he called a "pluralistic approach" to the Salvadoran impasse, based on free elections. Free elections? Sounds fine, but let's look at the Salvadoran political dope sheet.

According to key figures in Salvadoran political life, such as Minister of Defense Guillermo García and Foreign Minister Fidel Chávez Mena, one of the two majority parties will win the elections. They are—surprise—García's P.C.N., which controls the armed forces, and Chávez Mena's P.C.D., which controls the electoral machinery.

The P.C.N. (National Conciliation Party) is the most successful party in Salvadoran history. Its candidates, Gen. Arturo Armando Molina in 1972 and Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in 1977, won landslide victories. Both victories were the products of electoral fraud. The P.C.N. recently took out large ads in the Salvadoran press describing Enders's support for elections as "an imperious line." The most trusted international adviser of the P.C.N. is Guatemalan President Romeo Lucas García; the front-runners for the party's nomination are Guillermo García and Col. Eugenio Vides Casanova, head of the National Guard.

The P.D.C. (Christian Democratic Party) participated in the 1972 and 1977 elections as part of a coalition called the U.N.O. The U.N.O. candidates might well have won—had the votes been counted. However, U.N.O.'s presidential candidate in 1972, José Napoleon Duarte, who got another chance to serve when the military-civilian junta now ruling El Salvador took power, may be disqualified from seeking re-election. That leaves Chávez Mena.

Among the minority parties there is the M.N.R. (Social Democrats). Its leader, Guillermo Ungo, was Duarte's running mate in 1972 in the U.N.O. coalition. As a member of the F.D.R. (Revolutionary Democratic Front), however, he is in exile, and holds a prominent place on the Salvadoran Armed Forces public enemies list. Another leading M.N.R. figure, Ana Margarita Gasteozora, remains in custody as a political prisoner. Then there is the U.D.N. (National Democratic Union), the legal arm of the Salvadoran Communist Party. Its prime presidential contender, party Secretary-General Manuel Franco, was killed by government security forces along with six other F.D.R. leaders last November. Franco was killed, says Christian Democrat junta member Antonio Morales Erlich, "because he had gone over to the guerrillas." Morales's remark may make it difficult for the U.D.N. to come up with a replacement candidate.

The only other political party is the P.O.P. (Popular Orientation Party). Although on every official list of eligible organizations, this right-leaning group apparently has neither members nor anyone in a leadership position. It is reported that P.O.P. was founded by a man who came into the bar of the Camino Real Hotel in San Salvador waving a large sum of money and saying that he had been requested to establish a new political party. P.O.P. has solid name-recognition nonetheless, because it is also the name of a chain of popular ice cream drive-ins in San Salvador and other Central American capitals.

There is a third category, still vacant, of political parties—those that may be legally constituted by submitting to the government the signatures of a board of directors and the names and addresses of 3,000 adherents. Such a document would be extremely difficult to produce given that more than 50 percent of the Salvadoran population cannot read, write or sign their names, and since 10 percent of the population are now displaced and have no addresses. Nor does Vice President Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez's warning that such canvassing may well take place "under a hail of bullets" give much hope—or the fact that the opposition press has been closed down for nearly a year.

ANNE NELSON

Anne Nelson writes frequently for The Nation *on Latin American Affairs.*

Campus Red Scare

Is a purge of leftist teachers under way in the nation's colleges? Consider the case of Kathleen Kelleher, a doctoral candidate and an assistant instructor in the government department at the University of Texas. Kelleher was relieved of her teaching duties last summer after an incident in her "Politics of American Culture" course. Two students walked out of the classroom when two gay-rights activists Kelleher had invited arrived to speak to the class. The offended students (and one of their mothers) complained to the dean of liberal arts and the department chairman.

On August 21, 1980, Dr. Charles Cnudde, one week into his tenure as chairman of the government department, requested a meeting with Kelleher, ostensibly to allay her fears about the incident and to discuss her proposed syllabus for another course. During this meeting, according to the report of the faculty grievance committee, Cnudde came to the conclusion that Kelleher's "intense commitment to a political ideology of the left would prevent her from offering quality instruction."

Despite pressure from the administration, the five-member grievance committee ruled in May that Kelleher's rights had been denied. But in June, Peter Flawn, president of the university, overruled the committee and upheld Cnudde. Kelleher was removed from the teaching staff. According to *The Daily Texan*, the student newspaper, Flawn denied that there was "an academic freedom or free speech issue" in the case.

Others, however, disagreed, including Prof. David Edwards, who resigned from the government department's ex-

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ecutive committee charging, "The effects of [Cnudde's] actions thus far, even excluding the Kelleher case, have been to eliminate people with leftist convictions." In his letter of resignation, Edwards documents the suppression of unorthodox views within the department. Cnudde's appointments, Edwards says, have been made largely without departmental consultation and have led to "the collapse of the department as a department."

Cnudde, although reluctant to discuss the Kelleher case (which will probably be heard in court), points out that there have been no firings. Al Watkins, a highly regarded junior faculty member, was denied tenure, but he will be reconsidered at a later time. A number of faculty members have resigned, and several others may do so soon, but none of these are unequivocally protest resignations.

Few, however, would deny that Cnudde's actions have had a chilling effect on the academic climate, so much so that associate professor of philosophy Douglas Kellner was prompted to ask, in *The Daily Texan*, if this was not "how McCarthyism began in the 1950s." Perhaps this is an exaggeration; political discrimination now rarely takes so blatant a form, and Kelleher's colleagues have not remained silent.

But the troubles in Texas are certainly not isolated, as a number of other incidents of political firings around the country will attest. Among them are the cases of Prof. Gene Grabiner, denied tenure at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and Charles Stastny, a tenured professor of political science at Central Washington University who was dismissed in 1979 for "insubordination."

The most striking barometer of the current academic weather is the decision in the Bertell Ollman case, handed down last month. Ollman, a Marxist who was rejected for the chairmanship of the political science department at the University of Maryland by John Toll, president of the school, after having been highly recommended, has lost his appeal in Federal District Court. The case, dating from 1978, was notable for the sheer conspicuousness of the political considerations involved. Ollman, inventor of the board game Class Struggle, was denied the appointment after the intervention of several state legislators and Acting Governor Blair Lee. Ollman's loss on appeal does not bode well for the increasingly vulnerable academic left.

SAMUEL J. STOLOFF

Samuel J. Stoloff, who was an intern at The Nation *this summer, is on the staff of the American Writers Congress.*

Amendment

(Continued From Front Cover)

shouldn't provide them with weapons to do it." The members of the Senate should recall that Savimbi for several years now has been supplied principally by the Republic of South Africa, the country that recently invaded Angola.

Unlike the Senate, the House Subcommittee on African Affairs held extensive hearings last spring on the Administration's request to repeal the restriction on military aid to Angola. Every member of the committee, Republica and Democrat, voted against repeal. Two weeks later, tl full House Foreign Affairs Committee voted 19 to 5 to coi tinue the restraint.

As you know, the Senate Foreign Relations Committe had the votes to overrule repeal as well, but instead struck compromise in order to present a united front on the floc of the Senate. The committee agreed to repeal the five-yea old law but also to continue to forbid assistance unless cei tain preconditions were met.

The committee's bill requires the President "prior to th furnishing of such assistance, [to] submit to the Committe on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and th Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a repor (under the appropriate conditions of confidentiality) in cluding: . . . a determination that substantial progress, in cluding an effective cease fire, and preparation for interna tionally supervised elections, has been made by all partie for the independence of Namibia. . . ."

Requiring that a cease-fire and preparations for internationally supervised elections in Namibia must be agreed to by all the parties before covert aid can be granted is a fairly strong restriction. Nevertheless, the committee's action has inherent weaknesses, and should be carefully weighed before a final vote. The Administration would be the sole judge of whether these preconditions were met, and although the President would have to justify his decision to the two foreign affairs committees of Congress, the latter would have no power to amend or reject the decision.

Further, under normal circumstances, members of Congress can at least appeal an unpopular decision to the public, but in this case the committee has stipulated that the President's report be classified, thus making it a violation of the Senate and House rules to publicly discuss its contents.

The original amendment ending covert U.S. military aid to Angola requires the President to make a public request to Congress for any further assistance. Congress determined, in short, that the question of further aid should be openly sought and openly debated. Openness is critical to this issue because the goals we all want to achieve are a peaceful settlement in Namibia and an Angolan government that is less dependent upon the Soviet Union and Cuba and more closely associated with the West. To achieve these objectives we must have the cooperation of the nations in southern Africa and of the Angolan government in particular.

If the Senate Foreign Relations Committee bill becomes law, there will be no way for the American people or the countries involved to know whether we are assisting in the overthrow of the government of Angola. Given the suspicion these African countries have already evinced toward the Administration's southern Africa policy, it is doubtful that they would give us the benefit of the doubt. Thus, it would make it almost impossible to get the kind of settlement we want in the area.

For the last several months, government officials in Angola have made it clear that they favor greater Western investment and technical advice. The Angolans are discovering, like other African countries before them, that the

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Russians have little to offer them once the fighting is over. There is good reason to believe that the Angolans, if their security were assured, would replace the Cuban soldiers with Western technicians. This point was re-emphasized last month by the President of Angola, Eduardo dos Santos, to visiting Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Subcommittee on African Affairs, and his colleagues.

Further, members of the Senate should keep in mind that repeal of the amendment would probably destroy any chance for a diplomatic solution in Namibia, which is critical to the stability of southern Africa. The Western contact group, composed of Britain, France, West Germany, Canada and the United States, has worked for three years to bring about a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia, and the cooperation of the Angolan government has been absolutely essential to the negotiations. The Administration has agreed to continue these negotiations, but aid to Savimbi would certainly undermine them.

Repeal of the Clark Amendment would also jeopardize good relations with the fifty-one independent nations of Africa. These disparate countries are solidly united on only one point: their hostility to white-ruled South Africa. They know that assistance to Savimbi and the end of the Namibian negotiations mean a closer relationship between the United States and South Africa. Recent statements by President Reagan expressing sympathy for South Africa, the unprecedented visit of high-ranking South African military officials to the United States, and our U.N. veto of sanctions against South Africa for its recent invasion of Angola have further confirmed their fears. The Administration could succeed in Namibia as Margaret Thatcher's government did in Zimbabwe. A democratic settlement would enhance Western influence and remove an opportunity for Soviet intervention.

Finally, the Senate should take note of the inconsistency in the Administration's policy. It seems to favor providing military assistance to "terrorist" forces seeking to overthrow the established government in Angola, yet, at the same time, it vehemently criticizes the Russians for engaging in similar activities around the globe. That the Angolan government is well established goes without saying. Angola is a member of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and is recognized by virtually every country in the world—including all fourteen of our North Atlantic Treaty partners.

Repeal of the Clark Amendment would have the unintended consequence of encouraging Soviet and Cuban adventurism and increasing their influence in Africa. □

Dick Clark was Democratic senator from Iowa from 1973 to 1979 and sponsor of the Clark Amendment, which blocked covert military aid to political factions in Angola. He is now a senior fellow at the Aspen Institute.

ARTICLES.

THE IDEOLOGY FRONT

The I.E.A.—Teaching the 'Right' Stuff

PETER H. STONE

Just as horse-racing fans have tip sheets to tell them which horses are the best bets, corporations now have an inside source to tell them where to direct their philanthropy: a new "maxi foundation" called the Institute for Educational Affairs (I.E.A.). Conceived in 1978 by Irving Kristol and William Simon, it was initially subsidized by four $100,000 grants from the John M. Olin, Smith Richardson, Scaife Family Charitable Trusts and J.M. foundations. I.E.A. was established as a weapon for conservatives in the "war of ideas," which Simon and Kristol have been pushing as the only way for business to respond to what they see as growing public criticism and disaffection. As they put it:

> The Institute for Educational Affairs exists because our culture—the way we think about our economy, our society, our politics, our lives—have [sic] become disjointed and infused with adversary sentiments and with utopian expectations. . . . This adversary culture did not arise spontaneously. It rose on the strength of ideas hostile to many of the fundamental values of our society, and it is with ideas that the adversary culture must be combated.

Not just ideas, of course. I.E.A. is envisioned as a bridge between academia and business, "two parts of our society between which there has in the past been too little in common. . . . Now is a 'time for truth.' " Business has heeded this call; I.E.A. now has, by its most recent estimate, seventy-four corporate patrons, including American Brands Inc., the Bendix Corporation, the Coca-Cola Company, Dow Chemical, Ford, General Motors, K Mart, Nestlé, Pfizer, the SmithKline Corporation and United Telecommunications. Total gifts in 1980, the institute's second year, increased to $538,868, compared with $301,429 the previous year (and individual grants rose from twenty-three to forty-five).

I.E.A. differs from other rightist foundations in that it aspires to be more than just another source of funds for conservatives. It sees its special niche as that of a "clearinghouse," making matches between those who need money and those who have it, a kind of computer dating service for conservative corporate philanthropy. The institute is the

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realization of what William Simon theorized about a few years back in his best-selling book *A Time for Truth*, in which he exhorted businessmen to pay more attention to where their philanthropy went since, he said, most universities were antibusiness and left-leaning.

In the gospel according to Simon and Kristol, ideas count. Ideas are power. And ideas are money. The average I.E.A. grant is only about $12,000, but the institute's role as a catalyst and a clearinghouse enhances its ability to spur gifts from other sources. Representing a new stage in corporate consciousness and organization, the institute could be instrumental in expanding the network of right-wing scholarship that, as the American Enterprise Institute has demonstrated, can steer the course of public policy debates in a direction that is more advantageous to business.

Philip Marcus, formerly with the National Endowment for the Humanities, is the executive director of I.E.A., and its board is made up of, among others, Robert Dee, chairman of the SmithKline Corporation; James Higgins, chairman of the Mellon Bank; Robert Galvin, chairman of Motorola Inc.; Lewis Lehrman, chairman of the Rite Aid Corporation and the Lehrman Institute, and Frank Shakespeare, president of RKO General. The board also includes such conservative heavyweights as Walter Berns, Robert Bork and Michael Novak from the American Enterprise Institute; John Bunzel from the Hoover Institution, and William Bennett, head of the National Humanities Center. Other important academic boosters on the board are W. Allen Wallis, the chancellor of the University of Rochester and the author of *An Overgoverned Society*, and Diane Ravitch, an adjunct professor at Columbia and author of *The Revisionists Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on Schools.*

Some of these board members were tapped by the Reagan Administration to serve during the transition. Frank Shakespeare headed the foreign policy transition team and has since been nominated to head the Board for International Broadcasting, which oversees Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. William Bennett and Philip Marcus helped prepare the Heritage Foundation's report for Reagan on the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Leslie Lenkowsky, director of research at the Smith Richardson Foundation, was the "team leader for the Board for International Broadcasting," as I.E.A. puts it.

One of the institute's major projects is "moral education," which is designed to counter an alleged decline in the teaching of values in elementary and secondary schools and a corresponding growth of "moral relativism." In an article in *Commentary*, Bennett, whose National Humanities Center received a $7,798 grant from I.E.A. for a conference on "Moral Education," attacked "moral experts," like Lawrence Kohlberg of Harvard, because of their emphasis on "moral problems. . . . The students can never be urged or exhorted to do or to be better, first out of respect for the prohibition against indoctrination, and second because what constitutes improvement is itself a matter of debate." Bennett concluded that "one of the most serious ethical problems of our time [moral relativism] has become the fad of the new ethics and its defenders."

What seems to be especially irksome to I.E.A.'s philosophy is any manifestation of a critical spirit. Instead, the institute is presenting the intellectual camouflage for the more popular exercises attacking secular humanism and advocating a return to rote learning that are becoming increasingly widespread. Given this perspective, I.E.A. is funding a new generation of scholars who will take a conservative approach in their studies and in the textbooks they write and teach from, and who will attempt to restore traditional morality to American education. Burton Pines of *Time*, a visiting journalist at the American Enterprise Institute, has received a grant of $19,068 to write *Back from the Brink*, a book about the "resurgence of Traditional Ideas in America." Seymour M. Lipset and William Schneider of the Hoover Institution and Harvard, respectively, have received $2,500 to write a book on "changing public attitudes towards American institutions, particularly business." Michael Scully, the managing editor of *The Public Interest*, was given $20,000 to edit a book on business ethics, aimed at business students, that will, according to I.E.A., "examine the host of charges made against business, which often amount to a point blank condemnation of business life as immoral in principle." Susan Parr of Ithaca College has received a $13,100 grant for a "guidebook on moral education for high school teachers of literature." The big-ticket item on I.E.A.'s publishing calendar is a $25,000 grant for a book by Allen Weinstein, the author of *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case* [see Victor Navasky, "The Case Not Proved Against Alger Hiss," *The Nation*, April 8, 1978]. According to I.E.A., Weinstein's new book, *The Haunted Wood*, will be a revisionist look at the 1940s and 1950s, emphasizing the brighter side of those years. Or, as Weinstein has written, "The moral legacy of the period (the 'Red Scare' of the 1950's) has been far more ambiguous and often positive than might appear from the accounts written by those concerned mainly with describing the era's worst horror stories as vehicles for a general indictment of American institutions." Finally, I.E.A. is providing regular assistance to student publications expressing a conservative political philosophy, including $5,000 grants to each of the following: *The Dartmouth Review*, the *Yale Political Monthly* and *Counterpoint*, from the University of Chicago. All of these projects are aimed at reviving elements of conservative philosophy, values and morals that the institute believes have lapsed and are in need of financial support.

Another favorite cause of I.E.A. is the Ethics and Public Policy Center (E.P.P.C.) in Washington, D.C., which drew national attention during the confirmation hearings of Ernest Lefever, Reagan's erstwhile human-rights appointee. (Lefever, nevertheless, has been sneaked into the government as special aide to Secretary of State Alexander Haig for "terrorism, counter-terrorism and nuclear nonproliferation.") Founded in 1976, the center's budget has soared to $493,000 in 1980 from $284,888 the year before. The center describes its primary concerns as "the more controversial

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current problems, especially those in which self-appointed single issue groups have staked out the moral high ground for themselves." Thus the E.P.P.C. championed the Nestlé company's right to tout infant formula to Third World mothers without interference from governments or the World Health Organization. I.E.A. contributed $16,000 to the center for a proposed book analyzing the role of "church groups in the boycott of the Nestlé company for its infant formula marketing program," and another $7,435 to spur distribution of an article by *Fortune* writer Herman Nickel called "The Corporation Haters," which portrayed the boycott as the result of antibusiness sentiment rather than as a serious issue of public health.

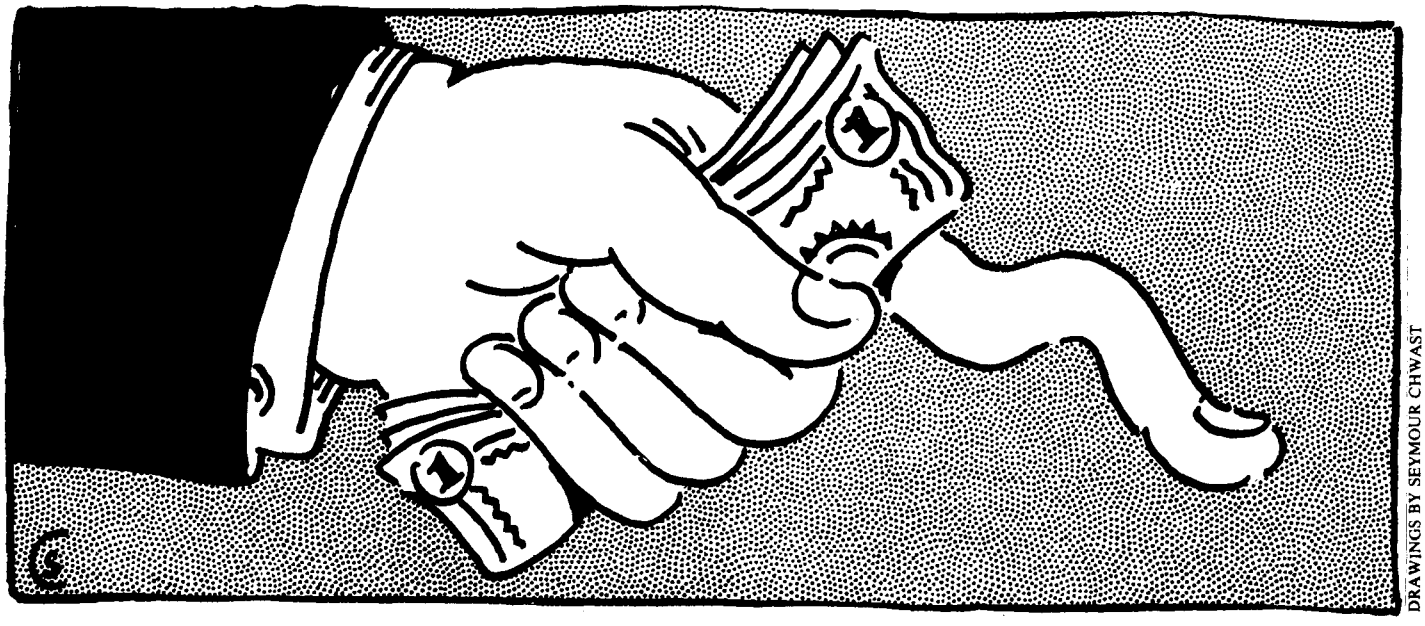
The center's interest in the "behavior of the churches, schools, and communication media as bearers and interpreters of fundamental ethical precepts and political ideas" does not exist in a vacuum; rather it reflects, to some extent, the views of its corporate board members and contributors. Among the board members are a vice president from the Fluor Corporation (the leading U.S. business in South Africa today, which has played a major role in building that nation's coal gasification plants), Charles Walker, Washington's premier business lobbyist, and Jeane Kirkpatrick, Ambassador to the United Nations and self-appointed arbiter of the fine distinction between "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" governments.

I.E.A. is also starting a program to combat "the politicization of religion." Kristol and Novak are especially exercised over what they believe is a leftward drift in the Catholic Church. Novak is leading the drive to create a "theology of democratic capitalism," as he announced to an I.E.A. board meeting last year, decrying the fact that since capitalism lacks a moral or theoretical rationale, it is a "reality with no theory." Kristol further argued that what is needed is "a way of looking at the world that vindicates and legitimates democratic capitalism." The role of the Church in Latin America in siding with the poor, and its progressive role in fighting for human rights in many countries, are particularly troublesome to Novak and Kristol, who denounced what they call "liberation theology" as a pernicious mixture of radical and Christian morality.

To counter this trend, I.E.A. has decided to launch a journal on religion edited by Novak and aimed at the clergy. Modeled on Kristol's quarterly *The Public Interest*, the magazine will appear later this year and is tentatively titled *This World: A Journal of Religion and Economics*. Its editorial board members include Jeane Kirkpatrick, Midge Decter and Walter Berns. According to its prospectus, the American Enterprise Institute will be a sponsor, and the magazine will attempt to "play an important role in raising the level of sophistication, practicality, and respect for empirical realities in official discussions of religion and public policy in this country and around the world." In short, this will be pure, unregulated free-market gospel according to the American Enterprise Institute and, not surprisingly, it is partly subsidized by the J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust, a backer of several evangelical magazines, including *Christianity Today*.

In a similar spirit, I.E.A. has also embarked on a foreign affairs program, which was stimulated by concern "about the efforts made to present the United States overseas." At a meeting in May 1980, I.E.A. staff members and other "foreign experts," including Midge Decter, now head of the staunchly anti-Communist Committee for a Free World [see John S. Friedman, "Culture War II," *The Nation*, April 18], Samuel Huntington, Leslie Lenkowsky, Harold Kaplan, editor of *Geo* magazine, Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, Frank Shakespeare and Allen Weinstein, discussed a number of possible programs that I.E.A. might sponsor and criticized the teaching of international relations in the universities. According to the institute's newsletter, *The I.E.A. Report*, "Some thought that the United States was suffering because of the reluctance or inability of government officials to make the case for the U.S." In response, I.E.A. is preparing a study on the "influence of ideas broadcast by radio and distributed by Western presses on Communist nations."

I.E.A. also publishes the *Guide to Public Policy Research*



DRAWINGS BY SEYMOUR CHWAST

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Organizations, which touts some sixteen conservative think tanks as good investments for corporate philanthropy. The list is a Who's Who of the right—the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Hoover Institute and the Hudson Institute. Besides the big names, however, the I.E.A. is keen on a handful of smaller centers that focus on antiregulatory studies and that are seen to have as their main backers companies that have been especially hard hit by Federal regulations.

The Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis is one of the leading exponents of deregulation. Founded by Murray Weidenbaum, who is now chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, it has become a prolific disseminator of critiques of just about every area of government regulation, including health, the environment and transportation. Weidenbaum is celebrated in corporate circles for a study he did on the high cost to business of government rules, in which he estimated that the total bill in 1978 was about $100 billion. This figure, however, has come under considerable attack because it did not take into account the benefits and dollar savings from better health, cleaner air and worker safety. But it is not only for errors of omission that Weidenbaum has been criticized. A Library of Congress review of his data asserted that he was guilty of using "enough questionable components to make the totals arrived at of doubtful validity," not to mention "double accounting and errors of addition." Despite this assessment, and perhaps because of Weidenbaum's conclusions advocating massive cutbacks in regulation, the center has been generously backed by major corporations and has an annual budget of more than $500,000.

By its own description, the center operates in the market of " 'Intellectual ideas' and strives to state those ideas in plain English." Among its supporters are Alcoa, Bethlehem Steel, the General Electric Foundation and the John M. Olin Foundation. The latter's parent, Olin Chemical, has had numerous run-ins with government regulators and has decided to fight back. Olin is the owner of Winchester Rifles, which was convicted of shipping guns to South Africa. The company was fined $45,000 by a New Haven judge, and ordered to pay $500,000 in reparations to a black community organization in that city. Olin Chemical was convicted on misdemeanor charges for filing false pollution reports with the government regarding the company's dumping of mercury into the Niagara River.

The Center for Research in Government Policy and Business at the University of Rochester is another redoubt of antiregulatory studies. It was created in "the belief that public policy can be made more effective by scientifically studying its effects and informing academicians, businessmen and government officials of the results." This sounds fine in theory. In practice, however, it has a distinctly unscientific bias that dovetails nicely with the views of large corporations. This is apparent in the center's announcement of a series of essays that "critically examines issues such as federal chartering, labor managed firms, and public or consumer representation on corporate boards. Other research in this area deals with the effects of regulations governing corporate takeovers." The center is also investigating the "scientific basis for the toxic carcinogenic substance legislation and regulations that govern American industry," as well as environmental, drug and electric utility regulation. The funding for its studies has come mainly from sources like the Olin Foundation and the Pfizer Pharmaceutical Company, which have a major financial stake in the issues involved.

Marx had to invert Hegel and stand him on his feet in order to see society clearly. Now I.E.A. is trying to turn Hegel back on his head, teaching that ideas and culture are primary forces. The economic and political systems are fine structurally, the institute says, but there is a kind of cancer slowly eating away at them that stems from the ideas and skepticism of certain contemporary intellectuals. I.E.A.'s Philip Marcus sees subversion lurking almost everywhere: "The impulses of our culture since the turbulences of the 1960s still reverberate in public portrayals: John Wayne gives way to Woody Allen, Herbert Hoover is transformed into J.R. Ewing, Sargeant York's replacement is M.A.S.H. The 'heroes' of comedy and derision replace the heroes of tradition and faith." Marcus and I.E.A., who emphasize the power of "cultural capital," are trying to outflank from the right such left-wing cultural critics as Antonio Gramsci and Georg Lukacs. According to Marcus, the tide is beginning to turn: "Success can be seen too in growing public awareness that our nation's passage from Horatio Alger on Main Street to Ralph Nader on Pennsylvania Avenue has had unfortunate consequences—declining productivity, increasing divisiveness, and frustration in the body politic."

Ultimately, I.E.A.'s efforts are aimed at buying business

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a new lease on life and an enhanced credibility with politicians and the public. This is necessary because, even though the dollar is at a ten-year high and mergers and acquisitions are soaring, the outlook for the economy is bleak given the dubiousness of Reaganomics, with its blind-side emphasis on deregulation and supply-side tax cuts favoring business. I.E.A. thinks the economy will improve still more if only the cultural and intellectual critics can be silenced or re-educated, unleashing the lusty American entrepreneurial spirit that George Gilder propagates in his book *Wealth and Poverty*. The vision that underlies I.E.A.'s economic philosophy is quite similar to the one that inspired Fitzgerald's Gatsby—a belief in "the green light, the orgiastic future that year after year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther. . . . And one fine morning—

"So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past." □

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL

School Days for Big Business

SARAH NORDGREN AND ANDREA GABRIEL

Denver

It may be hard times for school lunches and bilingual and special education programs, but, true to the philosophy of the Reagan Administration, private enterprise is stepping in to "fill the gap." Big business's courtship of public school students is thriving. Here in Denver, as in Dallas, Salt Lake City, Boston and Jackson, Mississippi, large corporations have established direct links with the public schools in order to "inform" school-age children of the virtues of the free-enterprise system.

Under Denver's "Adopt-a-School" plan, a business is matched with any elementary, junior or senior high school that requests it. The aim is to "raise the level of parent, teacher and student understanding of the free-enterprise system," according to Adopt-a-School literature. The program now reaches more than one-third of Denver's schoolchildren directly, and receives substantial yearly appropriations from the Denver Board of Education. Participants in Denver's program include the major oil companies and banks, Public Service Company, Samsonite, Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company, Adolph Coors Company, Lowry Air Force Base and the Mountain Bell Telephone Company. Several hospitals, TV stations and businessmen's clubs are also sponsors.

Using funds left over from a Health, Education and Welfare Department grant to assist in the peaceful desegregation of Denver's schools, the city's Adopt-a-School program was begun three years ago with the support of a liberal coalition that wanted to see more "community participation" in the schools. It was modeled after a similar program in Dallas.

More than anything else, Denver's Adopt-a-School program provides business with direct access to students, parents and teachers in promoting its economic philosophies and political concerns. Through sophisticated games, cartoons, films and "firsthand experiences," businesses, with the support of the Board of Education, hope to "educate" young people in the corporate point of view. Adopt-a-School's staff coordinates a broad spectrum of events for students, ranging from forums on energy development and classes on economics and government regulation to career education and "shadowing" company officials during their day's activities.

The success of Adopt-a-School is, of course, dependent on teacher cooperation. As classroom size expands, the pressure for teachers to look to outside sources like Adopt-a-School for supplementary assistance increases. One high school economics teacher said she appreciates Adopt-a-School because it finds speakers, sets up programs and provides materials for her. "I have five classes to teach and couldn't possibly find time to do all this myself,"she said.

The "all this" that she spoke of was a morning-long program provided for her students by one of the most active participants in Adopt-a-School, Coors Brewery. Thirty-five students, on this particular day, heard a one-hour speech on the virtues of a laissez-faire economy. The talk, given by John McCarty, Coors's vice president for corporate public affairs, included a strong pitch for the elimination of governmental regulations on industry. The speech was followed by a film entitled *Chickenomics*, which extols capitalism and the opportunities it offers for individual advancement. As students left the classroom, they were each given an "informational packet" of right-wing tracts produced by the Colorado Association of Business and Industry's Project Confidence [see box on page 236].

Another recent Adopt-a-School event was a "Career Day," during which female students participated in a fashion show and were given a presentation on "Fashion Do's and Don'ts" [*sic*]. Attempts by parents in the past to reduce sex-role stereotyping in career education have had little effect on Adopt-a-School programs, which are run by businesses and not educators.

The Public Service Company of Colorado invites students to visit its Fort St. Vrain Nuclear Generating Plant, where they are shown movies promoting nuclear energy. The plant is at present shut down because of recurrent problems in its cooling system. P.S.C. tells the students that taxpayers' money is wasted when the plant is shut down because of "unnecessary regulations." Energy development projects that are highly controversial are actively promoted, and students are spoon-fed the company's arguments for rate hikes, which are being challenged in the Colorado legislature.

Much of the information children receive through Adopt-a-School is explicitly antilabor and anti-Communist. At

Sarah Nordgren is a journalist and historian. Andrea Gabriel is a sociologist, teacher and freelance writer. Both live in Denver.

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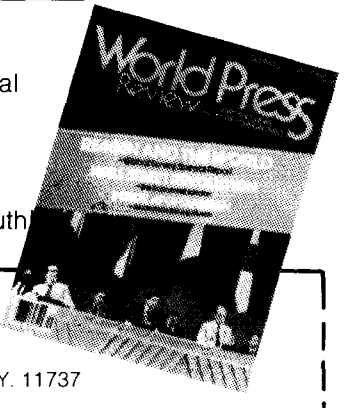

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Coors, for example, students were told that "all the big U.S. industries that are in trouble have one thing in common—they're heavily unionized." Coors itself has been involved in bitter labor struggles in which unions have been virtually crushed by management. When a student from Denver's Manual High School whose class was visiting the brewery asked about the Coors Beer boycott, McCarty said, "Union leaders are all a bunch of soreheads."

Labor organizations say they do not have the resources to get involved with public education on the scale of big business. Although some labor officials say the businesses are "not playing fair" by giving schoolchildren a one-sided view of industry, none have attempted to become part of the program by "adopting" a school, nor have they been approached.

Some teachers try to provide balance by inviting speakers from labor, environmental and consumer groups, but there is nothing in the Adopt-a-School program that would require or encourage this. Administrators often actively oppose such efforts, requiring teachers to clear such invitations through their offices. The school board has remained uninterested in providing the students with nonbusiness views. When questioned about the legitimacy of inviting special-interest groups to educate children about the economy, Adopt-a-School board chairman Donald Widler, who is also an executive with the Colorado National Bank, stated that students do not receive only a corporate perspective: "Our bank representative speaks to them about organized labor in order to expose students to other views."

Adopt-a-School's affiliation with the Board of Education is legally dubious. In 1980, Adopt-a-School, a private corporation with its own board of directors, received a direct contribution from the Denver school system of $55,000. The figure has increased to more than $73,000 so far in 1981, which does not include the substantial contributions the school board makes in the form of facilities and supplies. In spite of the amount of money it contributes, the school board does no independent monitoring of Adopt-a-School. The only direct administrative link between the two organizations is the deputy superintendent of schools, who is on Adopt-a-School's board of directors.

In spite of its lack of accountability to the school board, Adopt-a-School apparently retains the unanimous support of board members. Virginia Rockwell, a liberal board member who recently lost her seat to a hard-line conservative, stated, "I think that in a time of declining enrollment and Federal education cutbacks there must be more private sector involvement in the public school system. Adopt-a-School fills this need." With regard to the ideological bias of the program, one board member stated flatly that "there never has been any attempt on the part of corporations involved in Adopt-a-School to instill their own philosophies in students."

It is true that much of the Adopt-a-School activity is pure "hype." Recently an attendance-incentive drive has been launched. As part of this drive, the National Guard, stationed at Lowry Air Force Base, offers free plane rides to students with exceptional attendance records. To build support for the drive, Adopt-a-School staff held assemblies in thirteen junior high schools in which an oil company P.R. man rushed onstage, pulling stacks of dollar bills from his pockets, to get students to understand that good attendance records lead to high-paying jobs. With this kind of gimmicky approach, the school board gains the support of parents while shirking its own responsibility for making quality education the motivation for good attendance.

Although Adopt-a-School staff claims to be interested in benefiting *all* students, and some tutoring is offered through the program, a more important thrust is in channeling talent

Supplementary Reading Courtesy of Adopt-a-School

Let's take a look at the Pollution Solution. . .

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As Americans, we have become spoiled and so concerned with our "wants" that we have neglected to think of our "needs" and those of the generations that will come after us. When we read or hear about the dreary outlook for our future—as far as our environment is concerned—it's easy to say, "Oh, I can't do anything about it so I might as well forget it!"

Well, let's take another look. What about our day-to-day existence? Don't we want to continue to conveniently heat and cool our homes, to use our fancy kitchen and workshop gadgets, feed ourselves and, last but not least, drive our cars? What about that big brown cloud hanging over us? Is it a mirage? Of course not! It is very real and it is believed that most of it is caused by automobiles.

So, it's only natural, if things are really as bad as they sound, for our government to want to rush to our rescue and save us from ourselves . . . trying to do for people what they won't do for themselves.

Regulation is not the answer! Common sense, individual responsibility and action is. There will never be a way to legislate you and me into doing the things that are good for us. However, if each of us starts today to be aware of what just one individual CAN do, we can have a significant impact on our pollution problems.

Pollution can be solved if people who CARE MORE join together and do something about it. CARE and ACTION today, even if it means SACRIFICE, will help insure a better world for future generations.

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toward business. "Leadership training" programs offered by several businesses select students who have shown "leadership potential" through activity in student councils or similar organizations.

Parents who are "invited" to participate in the program are also handpicked by school officials. While a parent coordinator is selected for each school's program, the majority of parents are involved only to the extent that they receive quarterly mailings describing Adopt-a-School activities. The mailings are full of reports and photographs of buffet luncheons, presentations of awards and certificates, greetings by members of the board and by company officials and thank-you letters written by children. A typical example: "Congratulations to TJ student Carole Dugan who won first place in the Job Interview Contest at the FBLA District Conference. Guy Leflar of Petro-Lewis conducted thought-provoking interviews to prepare Carole for the competition."

Several schools on Denver's west side, where the student population is largely Chicano, have dropped out of the program. Some teachers and students felt the businesses and the Board of Education were using the program primarily for public relations purposes, and at least one of the businesses felt it could better serve its own interests by adopting a school in a more affluent area.

A neighborhood organization, the Concerned Citizens Congress of Northeast Denver, which represents the city's black community, is currently doing a critical review of the Adopt-a-School program. The Congress of Hispanic Educators, whose members were among those involved in setting up the program three years ago, has written a letter to the Board of Education calling the program into question.

Businesses have for years spent large amounts of money on handouts and literature for public school students, but it is only recently that programs like Adopt-a-School have begun to link big business directly with school administrations in the United States. These ties represent a qualitative leap in the opportunity for business to propagandize children.

Big businesses go to the schools because they want to "improve their image." Adopt-a-School's director admits that one of the companies' main interests is "visibility," and that it is Adopt-a-School's function to give businesses as much visibility as possible in order to encourage them to participate. In addition, Adopt-a-School serves as a convenient tax write-off for the companies, whose commitments to the schools are open-ended and are not scrutinized by either educators or the public.

It is not surprising that business should expand its public relations offensive to the schools; the minds of young people are a fresh field for conquest. But when financially strapped school boards actively solicit corporate resources without the corrective of other viewpoints, parents, educators and students should start asking tough questions lest a patron-client relationship grow up between business and the public schools. Where it does, our free-education system will be that much less free. □

McCARTHYISM ON CAMPUS

Extra! College Kids Scoop Press

SIGMUND DIAMOND

The advent of the new academic year at a time when the Reagan Administration is bent on eviscerating the Freedom of Information Act provides an occasion for recalling the role played by campus journalism during the 1940s and 1950s, when government surveillance of the universities (a still untold story) made deep inroads into academic freedom. Although many college papers echoed the prevailing cowardice, others were more courageous and probing than professional reporters.

This we learn from documents released under the F.O.I.A. that reveal the existence of substantial Federal Bureau of Investigation dossiers on *The Harvard Crimson* and the *Yale Daily News*—among many other college newspapers—and of persistent Bureau interest during the 1950s. The Bureau not only used them as sources of information about Harvard and Yale but attempted to suppress stories it found embarrassing. In their investigative reporting on campus as well as off, college journalists sometimes came close to blowing the lid on practices whose full significance they did not always realize, though the F.B.I. and university administrations did.

A few examples must suffice:

§ As reported in *The Nation* [see Diamond, "God and the F.B.I. at Yale," April 12, 1980], F.B.I. officials were aroused by charges in the first of what would become an annual series in *The Harvard Crimson* on academic freedom. With the cooperation of officers of Yale University, including Provost Edgar S. Furniss, they worked with the aggressively agreeable editor of the *Yale Daily News*, William F. Buckley Jr., to suppress the full story of Yale-F.B.I. cooperation. John G. Simon, president of *The Crimson*, did not endear himself to the F.B.I. for his work on the series, and became the object of its close scrutiny. The editors of the *Yale Daily News* also received attention, but of a much more benign sort. "This is a classic," Hoover crowed about Buckley's editorial "Hats Off to the FBI." And L.B. Nichols, assistant director of the F.B.I., wrote Buckley on October 27, 1949, with his "congratulations" on the way his staff had handled the story.

§ *The Crimson* and the *Daily News* were read avidly by the Boston and New Haven regional offices, and the stories were the subject of frequent correspondence with Washington headquarters. A memorandum of December 10, 1951, from the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) in New Haven to the director in Washington was captioned "Yale

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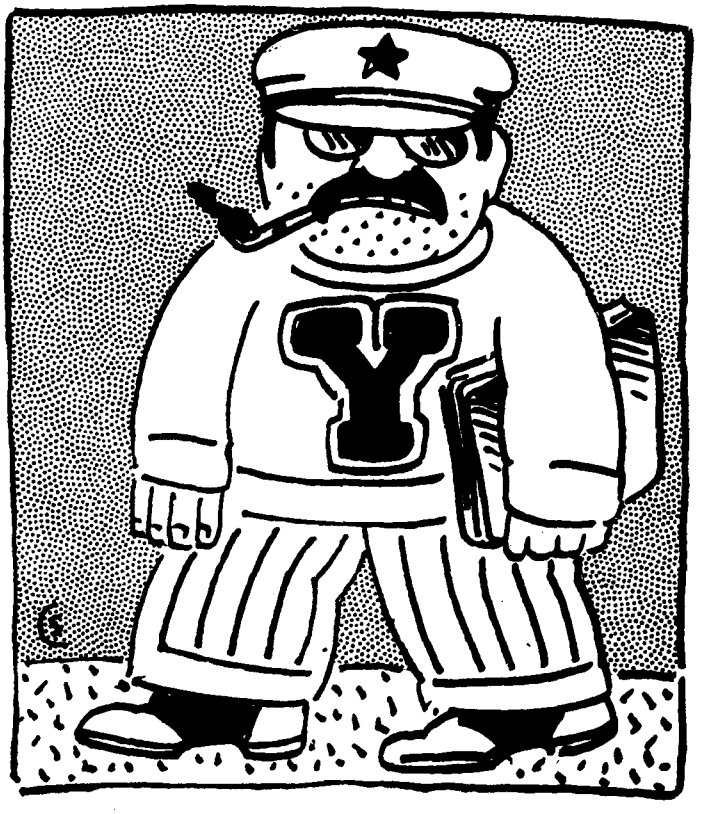
Daily News—An Article Critical to the F.B.I." The memorandum described a report in the *Yale Daily News* of December 6, 1951, that Prof. Fowler B. Harper of the law school had recently publicly criticized the F.B.I., the State Department and the Supreme Court. "The New Haven Office maintains a file on Fowler B. Harper," the New Haven SAC added, and the *Daily News* story was placed in it. On April 21 and April 23, 1951, the SAC in New Haven wrote Hoover about a *Yale Daily News* editorial titled "The FBI and Yale." It had been prompted by an undergraduate named John S. Williamson Jr. who charged that he had been advised by university authorities not to persist with his plans to organize a group against racial prejudice because such an organization was unnecessary and, besides, the F.B.I. would investigate it. A New Haven F.B.I. report of April 24, 1953, on "Communist Infiltration into Education—Survey at Yale University," lists Williamson as one of the Yale "subversives." Even though "no information is available establishing Williamson's membership in the Communist Party," he had been active "in promoting signature campaigns on such issues as 'Save Willie McGee' and 'Negotiations for Peace,' " and was "carried on the Security Index. . . ."

§ In the first of *The Harvard Crimson*'s annual surveys on academic freedom and in other stories (notably, an editorial on June 9, 1949, criticizing a report by Dwight D. Eisenhower and James B. Conant for the National Education Association that called for the exclusion of Communists from the teaching profession), the *Crimson* raised squarely issues that the majority of the professional press wouldn't touch. *The Crimson*'s course was not without risk and left it open to intimidation, but the editors remained irreverent and gutsy. *The Crimson* "open books" in the Nathan M. Pusey collection of the Harvard Library, to which I was generously given access by the board of *The Crimson*, provide illustrations of both. In the news comment book of November 16-December 15, 1948, Sedgwick W. Green, managing editor, wrote: "Warning. A man from CIC [the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps] was in today checking on an editor who was graduated in 1941. Our 'pacifist' editorial policy then disturbed him. Remember, everything we say will be held against us." In the news comment book of May 10-June 6, 1949, John G. Simon rejected a suggestion—this time from the administration—that *The Crimson* suppress a story about a recent speech at Harvard by Communist Gerhart Eisler: "The only real attack over Eisler's appearance came from one John Rankin in the House. Does a Rankin blast really *harm* the University? I know of no other basis for Dean's Office fears of the story—besides the fact that it may give the Honorable Mr. Rankin another excuse to yap. Ergo, I can see no legitimate reason to kill the story."

But perhaps the most significant scoop by college journalists occurred not in the Ivy League but at the University of California. Prof. Robert M. MacIver, director of the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University, writes in his book *Academic Freedom in Our Time* (Columbia University Press, 1955) of an agreement reached at two meetings in the spring and early summer of 1952 between the presidents of a large number of colleges and universities in California and the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities (known as the Burns committee after its chairman, Hugh M. Burns). Among other things, the university heads promised to "appoint a 'contact man' to watch out for subversive tendencies and report to the Committee." MacIver continues:

> Here we have the unhappy picture of how the guardians of a number of institutions of learning have bowed to the will of a legislative committee that has shown scant respect for or understanding of the goals and principles of education. . . . The chief counsel [of the Burns committee] explained as follows the duties of the contact man: "If we have information about a communist front organization moving to campus we'll contact the contact man. Or if a notorious communist front-joiner is seeking a position on the campus we'll inform the college on that account."

But how did MacIver discover the relationship between the Burns committee and the colleges and universities of California? The records of the American Academic Freedom Project in the Manuscripts Division of the Columbia University Library show that MacIver's staff learned of the arrangement through a series of articles and editorials in *The Daily Californian*, the student newspaper on the Berkeley campus. On June 25, 1952, Leo Koutouzos, on behalf of the project, wrote to the editorial board of *The Daily Californian* about an editorial calling the Burns committee an "academic gestapo." Koutouzos requested copies of all articles and editorials the paper had run on it, as well as "a copy of the text in which the original scheme was formulated by the Senate Committee, if such exists." In reply, Dave Dugas, assistant editor, sent a sheaf of articles on the plan which revealed, among other things, that Robert G.



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Sproul, president of the University of California, had agreed to appoint "a" contact man (Sproul did not say who it was to be) and that Sproul and Burns had some differences over how rigorous the screening of academic appointments was to be.

Armed with the leads provided by *The Daily Californian*, the Freedom Project queried a number of California college and university presidents. The reply by Lynn White Jr., president of Mills College, was informative. He wrote that he had attended the meeting between the Burns committee and the presidents of the Northern California colleges, and that the committee handled matters "in an atmosphere of sweetness and light." It was suggested that files of the committee be consulted when faculty appointments were being considered. As to the liaison officer, "most of the institutions present indicated that the matter of preventing Communist infiltration was obviously so important that no less person [sic] than the president himself should serve as liaison between the institution and the Committee, and I appointed myself in this capacity. . . . Before making appointments, I investigate them as best I can, and while I naturally wish all possible information about such candidates I see considerable danger in the precedent of 'clearing' the faculty appointments of a private institution with any official or public body."

Fred D. Fagg Jr., president of the University of Southern California, was almost peremptory in his reply: "We in the South still maintain our relationship with the Committee and I believe we shall continue to do so." J.E. Wallace Sterling, Stanford president, provided confirmation, but little additional information: "Stanford, along with all other major colleges and universities in California, did agree during the Summer of 1952 to accept 'documented facts' which the California State Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities said it would supply us both on subversive personnel and on subversive activities. Stanford also agreed to designate certain officials to receive this information . . . although it was not my understanding that these officials were to supply information to the committee."

Robert G. Sproul occupied the most important administrative post in the California higher-education system. Replying to Koutouzos's letter of November 4, 1952, in which Koutouzos said that because "our sole information comes from several issues of *The Daily Californian* . . . we should be very much obliged to you if you would let us know what the present status of this contact arrangement is," Sproul expressed "general satisfaction" with the Burns program "as far as the University of California is concerned." He added that Burns felt that "communications" between the committee and the universities should be improved "for the purpose of making information in the Un-American Activities Committee files available to the educational institutions, and of establishing a channel through which information might be requested." The University of California exhausts its own committee and individual resources for information before turning to the state Un-American Activities Committee files, he went on, and he concluded:

> The liaison officers appointed for the various campuses of the University were in each case the chief administrative officer of those universities, and these officers were left free to make public announcement in the most appropriate way.

When Sproul made his public announcement of the arrangement on March 27, 1952, reticence—or something—kept him from saying that he was the liaison officer with the committee; he said only that "a" contact man would be appointed. (All quotations are from letters in Columbia University Library, Manuscripts Division, American Academic Freedom Project, Box 7, Folder, "Legislation: State Government-California.")

The Ivy League was watching California with great interest. On March 23, 1953, Frederick Wiggin, counsel to Yale, forwarded to president A. Whitney Griswold copies of some documents he had recently received from Sturgis Warner, a Washington attorney retained by Yale and several other Ivy League institutions. Yale and Harvard were so concerned about hearings on Communism then in progress before Congressional committees headed by Senator William Jenner, Representative Harold Velde and Senator Joseph McCarthy that they hired attorneys in Boston, New Haven and Washington, D.C., to keep them informed about the political climate and to help develop legal strategy. On March 20, Warner wrote to Wiggin and to Oscar Shaw, of the Boston firm of Ropes, Gray, Best, Coolidge and Rugg, who had been retained by Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, about testimony before the Jenner committee the previous day. The witness had been Richard E. Combs, counsel to the Burns committee. Some of his answers were "of more than routine interest," among them the revelation that as a result of "an agreement of cooperation" between the Burns committee and the universities of California, "approximately 100 teachers have been dismissed, and more than 100 teachers have been prevented from gaining tenure. . . . There was emphasis on the advantages of prior screening as contrasted with the rooting out of Communists after some damage has been done." There is no doubt that Combs inflated the numbers to exaggerate the effectiveness of the arrangement, but there is also no doubt that the arrangement existed and had some influence on what we are now coming to see was the establishment of equivalent screening devices at other universities.*

In many instances, college journalists of the 1950s saw things more clearly than the professional press and called their shots more courageously. Their stories help pierce the veil of distortion that still obscures the history of the 1950s. Their refusal to be cowed by the witchhunters should be an example to their successors. The questions they asked thirty years ago about the relation between university administrators and government investigative agencies need to be asked today. Do universities still have arrangements with government agencies for screening candidates for appoint-

* F.H. Wiggin to A.W. Griswold, March 23, 1953; Sturgis Warner to F.H. Wiggin and Oscar Shaw, March 20, 1953; in Yale University Archives, A.W. Griswold Presidential Papers, Box 1. I am indebted to Yale University for permission to examine these papers.

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ment and promotion? The answer to that question will help determine if in concealing the past we have doomed ourselves to repeating it. □

FIGHT FOR LABOR'S SOUL

Will Tony Benn Go All the Way?

KAI BIRD

Five months ago, in a surprise 3 A.M. speech, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, M.P., rose from his House of Commons seat to announce that he was a candidate this year for the deputy leadership of the British Labor Party. His fellow Labor M.P.s, including party leader Michael Foot and even many in the left-wing Tribune Group of Labor M.P.s, were aghast. Benn had broken the party leadership's unofficial consensus that there should be no fractious race for the deputy leadership position this year.

Only a few weeks earlier, a rump faction on the party's right wing, led by the "Gang of Four" (Shirley Williams, Roy Jenkins, William Rodgers and David Owen), had walked out, taking with them some thirteen other Labor M.P.s to form the Social Democratic Party (S.D.P.). Michael Foot believed that a "Bennite" challenge to unseat Deputy Leader Denis Healey, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the few moderate Laborites who had not joined the S.D.P. defectors' walkout, would only further polarize the party. But that, of course, is precisely why Tony Benn is running.

For behind the race for deputy leader lies a struggle for the socialist soul of the British Labor Party. Benn has at best an even chance of winning the deputy leadership at Labor's convention at the end of this month. But if he succeeds, he will have triumphed over the opposition of the vast majority of the party's elected M.P.s, the formal leadership and the party's old-line conservative trade-union bosses. And even if he loses, he will have come so far and so close to taking control of the party that no one now expects the Bennite insurgency to go away.

The deputy leadership fight is only the latest round in an effort by the Bennites to have the party repudiate the legacy of Harold Wilson, James Callaghan and even the moderately left-of-center Michael Foot. Benn, a senior Labor politician for more than thirty years, wants to lead the party and become Britain's next Prime Minister. If elected, he has sworn to pull Britain out of the Common Market, to impose "planned trading," with sweeping import controls, on the country's shattered economy, to return the cruise missiles Ronald Reagan wants to station in Britain and to disarm unilaterally Britain's own nuclear arsenal. Taken together, these steps would mark the end of the Atlantic alliance and the beginnings of a distinctly radical Anglo-Saxon autonomy. Domestically, Benn's economic policies, borrowed in part from the proposals of the innovative "Cambridge Group" of economists, would experiment with a blend of left-wing protectionism, planned investment strategies and worker control over nationalized industries.

Such an agenda is roundly supported by close to 75 percent of the Constituency Labor Party—those dues-paying activists who attend local party chapter meetings. And under the reform rules adopted a year ago at the 1980 Blackpool party conference, which were designed to provide more "internal democracy" for party decisions, the Constituency Party chapters now control 30 percent of the vote in the party's electoral college. Trade unions formally affiliated with the party cast the decisive 40 percent, leaving the once-dominant Parliamentary Labor Party—consisting of the Labor M.P.s—with only 30 percent.

The new rules are made to order for party activists and traditional working-class Labor voters who for a generation now have felt constantly betrayed by their elected representatives in Parliament. The average Labor voter's cynical disaffection with the Labor leadership is reflected in the massive decline in the party's membership rolls. The major attrition began during Harold Wilson's prime ministership when, after the 1966 elections, he reversed Labor's stand on monetary and incomes policy, publicly supported the American war effort in Vietnam and attacked the trade unions. At the time, Richard Crossman, a leading Labor Party "insider," wrote in his journal (later published as *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*):

> The fact is that Harold [Wilson] is out to smash the seamen's union. It is this which makes us so unhappy as a Cabinet in our relationship with our backbenchers. We are trying to smash the seamen although we have just given huge concessions to the doctors, the judges, and the higher civil servants. It is an ironical interpretation of a socialist incomes policy.

Such policies, say the Bennites today, constituted a cynical betrayal of the party's working-class constituency. (Ironically, in 1966 Benn himself was serving in Wilson's Cabinet as Minister of Technology, a fact which Benn's critics on the left take delight in raising.) Party membership, in any case, was halved during this period, from a maximum of 800,000 to 400,000. Last year there were only 284,000 dues-paying members.

The Bennites pushing for internal democracy under the new party rules argue that if membership levels are to rise again then the parliamentary leadership must be made more accountable to the grass-roots constituency parties—the people who actually attend local party meetings and turn out the vote.

The conservative *Daily Telegraph*'s explanation of the Bennite insurgency thus has an element of truth to it:

> After all the years of appeasement and evasion under Mssrs. Wilson and Callaghan, the wretched party they have left behind them looks almost ready to fall, like a rotten apple, into the waiting hands of those who realised years ago

Kai Bird, Associate Editor of The Nation, *worked for three months at the London* New Statesman *this past spring.*

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that as the party's grass-roots membership dwindled, application and intimidation could win the day.

"Intimidation" is the charge the party's professional politicians level against local chapters that have deprived them, in some instances, of a Labor ticket. This is because, under the new Bennite rules, which bar automatic "reselection" of incumbents, many Labor M.P.s from the moderate wing of the party have lost the party's backing. Actually, intimidation has nothing to do with these results; the ousted M.P.s no longer have the votes in their hometown constituencies to win renomination.

But if the party leadership is divorced from its grass-roots activists, many ask, are the Bennites really in tune with the mood of the country? Raymond Williams, the noted British literary critic and a political activist himself, regards the Bennite insurgency as a positive development. But, says Williams, "if they succeed, they may find themselves in possession of any empty shell for a party."

It is of course quite possible that the British Labor Party is about to become the minority party in a three-party system, that the two-party monopoly on political power is unraveling and that the S.D.P. will emerge as the major opposition to the Tories. Some, including Raymond Williams, view the collapse of what he calls the "uniquely stifling mechanism of the two-party system in Britain" with equanimity. A minority party capable of tipping the national balance of power might have far more success at advancing a genuinely left economic program than a "broad-church" Labor Party constantly compromising its socialist agenda due to "international constraints."

Such a radical reordering of the British political landscape might realistically reflect the shift of political allegiances at the grass-roots level, Williams told the editors of the *New Left Review* in a series of interviews collected in *Politics and Letters* (New Left Books, 1979):

> A minority of the working class has been moving left, away from the Labor Party, for ten to fifteen years now. . . . Within the industrial working class itself, there can now be a very militant sit-in or strike to prevent a particular factory from being closed, which is resolved by an agreement for the take-over of the plant by an American capitalist.

The powerful pressures of the world market on British industry could, however, serve to divide British workers. Some workers, specifically those employed by corporations that meet the standards of global competitiveness laid down by Margaret Thatcher's government, may be appeased, if they do not actually prosper. Shirley Williams and the S.D.P. are wagering that these workers will abandon the Labor Party and sweep the Social Democrats to power in the next election.

It is an enormous gamble, made all the more risky by the fact that it was the Social Democrats who made the break. If it had been the party militants, the Bennites, who had stalked out, leaving the Social Democrats with the party name, it would be safe to say that Shirley Williams and company could be sure of their triumph. But events did not happen that way, and circumstances now suggest that regardless of the outcome of this month's fight for the deputy leadership, the Bennites have an extraordinary opportunity to make themselves the heirs to Thatcher's economic disaster. □

THE KNIVES ARE OUT

Pro-Business as Usual at the F.T.C.

SAUL B. SHAPIRO

The Federal Trade Commission, once lambasted in a *Washington Post* editorial for playing "National Nanny" because of its efforts to regulate television advertising aimed at children, today seems almost moribund. Put to sleep by the conservative ascendancy in Washington, the commission has dropped its investigation of the "kid-vid" industry despite staff findings that children "do not have the ability to assess advertising," place "indiscriminate trust in ads" and fail "to understand their persuasive bias." But then, ever since the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan, the F.T.C. has discarded or watered down nearly every major initiative embarked upon in years past.

In the last several months, the agency has dropped its five-year-old antitrust investigation of the automobile industry, consented to a staff recommendation that it kill an eight-year-old monopolization case lodged against the nation's eight largest oil companies and taken the substance out of proposed rulings in the eyeglass and used-car businesses. It hastily approved the $1.8 billion merger of the Kennicott Copper Company and Standard Oil of Ohio despite staff protests that it would create a monopoly in the mining of certain substances. And, in a bravura performance, the commission rejected an agreement that F.T.C. staffers had worked out with the Chrysler Corporation that would have forced the automobile manufacturer to pay the cost of repairing engine damage in almost 10,000 cars. Instead, Chrysler won't send consumers a dime.

The F.T.C. has not, of course, made these decisions in a political vacuum. "The idea of the independent political agency is a myth," says F.T.C. commissioner Michael Pertschuk, who was the agency's chairman during the Carter Administration. "It's almost irrelevant how the members of the commission behave, because the levers of power in Congress and in the Administration are so many." Those now in power who believe that business needs to be liberated from the constraints of regulation have relegated the F.T.C. to a subsidiary role.

Antagonism to the F.T.C. did not arrive in Washington with Reagan. Conservatives have been seething about it for years. In fact, in 1980 Congress came very close to doing away with the agency altogether. The Congressional attack was intended to discourage the kind of aggressive rulings and posturings that were common under Chairman Pert-

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schuk. Most irksome to members of Congress was the kidvid investigation. As Nancy Drabble, acting director of Congress Watch, says, "The children's advertising [investigation] had something about it; it just drove people crazy in Congress." Pertschuk defends his support of the investigation but regrets having fashioned the agency's strategy in such a "confrontational" way and wishes that he "had been more sensitive to the changing political environment."

The events on the Hill left their mark on the commission. The bill that emerged from the ruckus, the F.T.C. Improvements Act of 1980, actually fell far short of some of the more drastic measures that had been seriously considered. Congress was content to restrict the agency's patent authority and to give itself the power to veto F.T.C. rulings. The mood of the debate, however, clearly warned the commission that it had better watch its step.

When Reagan and the Republican Senate arrived in January, things didn't get much better. Director of the Office of Management and Budget David Stockman quickly set out to slash the F.T.C.'s budget by 30 percent, a move the commission successfully fought but which set the tone for the Administration's dealings with the commission. And members of Congress now take it upon themselves to kill agency rulings while they are still in the preliminary stages, a maneuver that is far more intrusive than the legislative veto power they gave themselves in the 1980 Improvements Act.

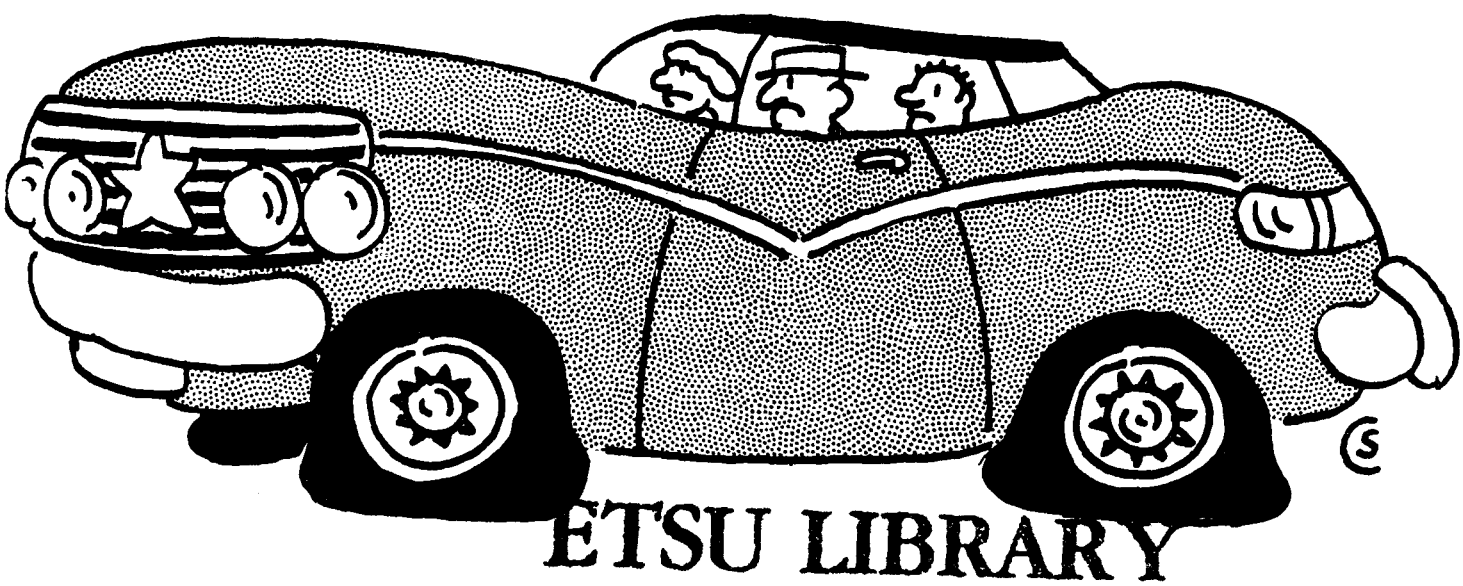
In July, the House Appropriations Committee attached a rider to the bill authorizing funds for the commission that would prohibit it from continuing its nine-year-old case against the nation's three largest cereal manufacturers until an administrative law judge decides whether or not the F.T.C. has jurisdiction in this area. This is a new, and quite devastating, tactic. Congress Watch's Drabble says, "I don't think in past years that companies would have had the chutzpah to go up to the Hill even before a decision had come out and say, 'We don't like the way this case is going. We're afraid we're going to lose. Cancel this case!' " As it happens, the cereal manufacturers' fears were for naught and the rider is now moot: on September 10, an administrative law judge ruled that the F.T.C. had failed to prove its monopoly case against the three companies.

In the next few years, there may be as much pressure to ease up on business from within the commission as from without. Reagan has selected James C. Miller 3d, a conservative economist, for the chairmanship. Although most advocates of strong antitrust legislation respect Miller's intelligence and industriousness, they expect him to follow his conservative principles and leave business alone. Personnel changes will not, of course, be restricted to the agency's upper echelons. Many middle-level staff members have already left, and others are planning to leave. These vacancies will most likely be filled by people who share Miller's views.

Many fear that the F.T.C. will no longer pursue even its "traditional" cases. On July 22, however, the commission demonstrated that it has not yet lost all its nerve when it announced final specifications for a fairly strong ruling in its eight-year-old investigation of the funeral industry. The ruling, which will be subject to Congressional review once it is issued, would put a halt to the industry's refusal to itemize the prices of its goods and services and its unwillingness to inform consumers when embalming is not mandated by state laws.

But the funeral case should not be regarded as an indication of what is to be expected of the agency. The case involved an issue that many staff members had been working on for a long time, and that they felt strongly about. It is more likely that the agency will return in spirit to the late 1960s and early 1970s, when it embarked on such bold projects as an investigation of mink farms and gift shops in the Virgin Islands.

Like many regulatory agencies, the F.T.C. is most effective when it frightens those it regulates into policing themselves. The consumer is best protected by the lawyer in the corporate boardroom who counsels his client not to embark on a particular monopolization or price-fixing scheme. The danger, as Pertschuk says, is that "the business community will get a signal from the Administration that the



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heat's off . . . and businessmen will now say, 'Hey, it's patriotic to make profits, so maybe we can be patriotic by doing a little price-fixing on the side.' "

Although any strong F.T.C. ruling stands a good chance of being vetoed by Congress, it is still imperative that the commission file the cases. As Pertschuk explains, the veto could serve a political purpose for the agency by acting as a "legislative scoreboard." Unlike the other four commissioners, Pertschuk isn't worried about the legislative veto. "My feeling is that the commission should go ahead and issue the rules that it thinks are right, and then if Congress wants to exercise the legislative veto, fine—you've got yourself an issue that the voters can be reminded of in two years. That's the way the process should work," he says.

Perhaps if people understood what the commission tries to do, they might be more supportive. Representative James Scheuer, Democrat of New York, who has fought hard on the Hill for the commission, says of its now watered-down used-car ruling: "If it were up for a vote in America, a referendum [in favor of it] would pass 10 to 1." The same could be said of almost every other commission ruling. If people knew that there was a way to avoid paying such high prices for cereal, oil, cars or funerals, it is reasonable to assume they would applaud the agency's investigations.

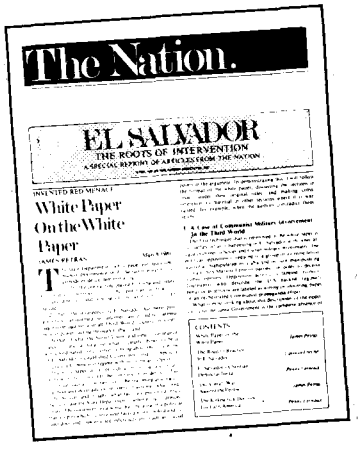
Critics of the commission talk as if it has tried to undermine the tenets of our economic system; in fact, the F.T.C. has acted to preserve the most essential component of laissez-faire capitalism: competition. Conservatives, like chairman-designate Miller, are the ones who have strayed from Adam Smith's teachings. They argue that an industry dominated by a few large firms is more efficient than one made up of a bevy of fiercely competitive smaller firms because, among other things, larger firms are better prepared to battle aggressive foreign competition. This argument has recently gained so much credence in Washington that even the most ardent supporters of the F.T.C., like Scheuer, end up sounding like the agency's most conservative antiregulatory foes. Scheuer says, "Maybe competitiveness means something different than it meant in the last century when the Sherman Antitrust Act was started. Maybe competitiveness now means the ability to compete in a global market. They [the F.T.C.] closed down the investigation of monopoly in the automobile industry; I think they probably did the right thing. The big question facing America today is not whether General Motors is out-competing Chrysler and Ford; it's whether the three of them can survive against foreign competition. Maybe we ought to shrink the number of firms; maybe we can only have two firms. Or one firm. I don't know."

There are several major fallacies in this argument. As Pertschuk points out, when single companies dominate an industry, "they get fat and unstimulated by domestic competition, so that they end up ripping off domestic consumers. And when they go abroad against foreign competition, they're not disciplined."

Pertschuk illustrates this point by telling a story. First he sets the scene: "It's 1959. The Japanese are about to enter the world auto market. MITI, the Japanese trade group, said, 'We'll never be able to compete with the American companies with five or six [Japanese] auto companies. We must have legislation to force our automobile companies to merge so that there will be just two. Honda said, 'Shove it, we don't want to merge' (the two companies would have been Nissan and Toyota). It didn't happen, of course, and there are now nine Japanese automobile companies. Basically what happened was that they gained their strength through aggressive domestic competition. It really proves the theory of antitrust laws."

Pertschuk goes on: "Recently there was an interesting story in *The Wall Street Journal*. One company had jumped from ninth place to fifth place in Japan by developing a mini-car. The mini-car gets seventy miles to the gallon. It's obviously very small. Toyota and Datsun had to move to meet that competition domestically. You can't sell a mini-car here because it probably doesn't meet the safety standards. You know that ten years from now, with the energy pressure, there'll be a big market here for mini-cars. Who will be ready to enter? The Japanese, because domestic competition will have forced them to."

Implicit in Pertschuk's story is the lesson that although small businesses and consumers will suffer most in the short run from the relaxation of antitrust laws, big business will join them as a long-run loser because without domestic competition, large companies will not be forced to improve their performance. This is a lesson few in Washington have learned. It is a lesson that the new people at the F.T.C. have not learned. They will probably learn the hard way, and everyone will suffer as they do. □



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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Sowell on Thin Ice

PAUL BUHLE

ETHNIC AMERICA: A History. *By Thomas Sowell. Basic Books. 353 pp. $16.95.*

This book is a creation of the times and a good press agent. A few years ago, the manuscript would most likely have been consigned to a textbook series, so general is its survey and so thin its conceptual framework. Its premises and conclusion offer little more than the sort of platitudes readers of ethnic history have come to expect: "Each group has changed in America, and American society has changed in many ways. . . . The assimilation of American ethnic groups has not been a one-way process." We are yet again treated to the familiar description of the "pride and pain of achievement." All of which sounds like the lecture notes for a lower-level American history course, hurriedly assembled by a professor anxious to get past the "problems" of race and ethnicity to more important matters, such as presidential elections and wars. *Ethnic America* has nevertheless been widely praised as a major revisionist contribution by such an established scholar of ethnic history as Nathan Glazer and honored with a front-page review in *The New York Times Book Review.* What, we might ask, is all the excitement about?

The answer could not be more simple. Like a Jewish Glazer, or a Slovak Michael Novak, Thomas Sowell is the ideal "ethnic" candidate for neoconservative mandarin. A senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a skillful popularizer, he emerges as Reaganism's consummate black academic disciple. He offers economic and historical justification for the claim that gutting social services and affirmative action programs serves the public interest. New Right commentators and politicians, embarrassed at open racism and xenophobia, take special comfort when the children of the constituencies that gained the most from the New Deal turn to savage progressive traditions.

Paul Buhle has written widely on ethnic, labor and radical history.

Sowell aims at a general reinterpretation of ethnicity by way of chapters on the Irish, Germans, Jews, Italians, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and blacks. He summarizes a great deal of scholarly work on the conditions that promoted immigration, the lives of the immigrants and the rise of their descendants to ultimate respectability. Occupational status, educational and birthrate patterns, unusual achievements, accurate and inaccurate stereotypes all find their way in here, deftly treated to suit the author's almost narrative approach. At its best moments, the book recaptures impressions ethnic groups have had of themselves and of each other, testing old beliefs in the light of methodical examination. But Sowell will not follow this road to its logical end, because he must drastically reshape both folklore and scholarship to fit his own conclusions.

The deep class enmity felt by minorities, as well as their sense of victimization by the American elite and its ethnic representatives, Sowell has sought to erase. The corresponding struggle by minorities to retain their identity, to change America in order to accommodate their own rich traditions, Sowell trivializes or condemns. This is fiction without a plot.

Ethnic America has come too late to flatten out the contours of recent immigration history. Following the lead of E. P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, a generation of younger historians has, during the last decade, laid the groundwork for a rich and detailed understanding of ethnic history. The central role of race and ethnicity in protest movements from the mid-nineteenth century to the present has become especially salient. Afro-Americans have repeatedly participated in mass movements from Abolitionism and Reconstruction to Garveyism, the C.I.O. and the civil rights movement, urging American democracy forward as they forced their own improvement upon an unwilling order. Those German-Americans whom Sowell portrays as stolid burghers also pioneered the labor movement and put across the slogan of the "eight-hour day." Jews earned their reputation for radicalism by devotion to every progressive cause for more than three generations. Italians, Slavs, Finns and other nationalities supplied decisive backing for the creation of industrial unions through their deep-rooted networks of community institutions. While outspoken progressives and radicals often remained a distinct minority, they gathered widespread support from their respective ethnic groups for the social changes they demanded.

Sowell wishes away a mountain of evidence now widely recognized and discussed. For him, the great fraternal organizations that supported labor and social progress—the International Workers Order, the Jewish Workman's Circle, the South Slav S.N.P.J.—never existed. Vito Marcantonio, political giant of the 1930s left, is perhaps the only major ethnic politician *Ethnic America* does not celebrate. The labor movement is treated here as no more than a job-control agency. For that matter, the huge Slavic-American population, the quintessential white industrial proletariat, does not even appear in the book. Twenty years ago, such lapses would have placed *Ethnic America* scarcely one small step above the volumes published by conservative ethnic business and religious groups to celebrate "their own" elites. Now, Sowell's book is simply outdated.

But there are important political reasons why the materials uncovered by recent scholarly advances in ethnic history were so long buried and why they still are not common knowledge. From the latter 1930s through the wartime crusade against fascism, the vision of a pluralist democracy gained wide approval. Influenced by Socialists, Communists and assorted labor radicals, a handful of ethnic writers articulated this hopeful prospect. Louis Adamic more than anyone else embraced the diversity and unifying cooperative spirit within the "Nation of Nations" as twentieth-century America's contribution to world culture. The breakup of the Roosevelt coalition in the postwar years, however, obliterated the one great opportunity to preserve and extend the cooperation of these diverse groups. The cold war and shift-

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ing neighborhood patterns pitted Communist against Catholic, white against black and groups already half-assimilated into the dominant order against those who still believed in the possibility of a genuinely progressive American diversity. Business and government combined to tame the labor movement, destroy the left-wing fraternal organizations and accelerate the assimilation process by discrediting the base of alternative identity.

The 1970s saw something of a spontaneous turnaround taking the form of a renewed celebration of ethnicity, but with uncertain implications. Third- and fourth-generation immigrants from all social classes began to long for an appealing and protective ethnic identity of their own. Many learned their forbears' languages, students wrote papers on their families, tamburitza and klezmer bands took on younger members and found new audiences. Irving Howe's *World of Our Fathers* made the best-seller list, encouraging the publication of ethnic memoirs, almanacs, fiction and poetry. At the same time, right-of-center politicians seized upon this emerging ethnic consciousness to attack liberals, blacks and Hispanics. Many white ethnics resented the apparent national monopoly on ethnicity held by blacks. The popularity of *Roots* demonstrated the significance and ubiquitous interest in a hidden past, but the attention of the media, the intellectuals and government services seemed to white ethnics always to be directed away from the lower-class Slav, Italian or Jew. It seemed to them that their neighborhoods were offered up by the Great Society to pay the price for urban breakdown; they felt anew the sting of epithets—once Hunkie or Polack and now Redneck. One could sense the resentment and pain in *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, written by a Michael Novak already en route from moral radicalism to some then-uncharted political destination. Ultimately, for him and others, the right and its business ethos promised what the government and progressive forces had not delivered: social stability, economic growth and personal recognition. Rank-and-file ethnics, seething with frustration, were angry enough at Carter to vote for Reagan. It remains to be seen how they will react to the devastation of their industrial environment, the erosion of Social Security and the token recognition of their treasured identities.

Sowell can hardly play upon the racism the right has used to blunt class tensions and marshal the "silent majority." Relying upon a collective amnesia of the long history of solidarity and struggle, he nevertheless employs the operative principle of racist analysis: that the poor have only themselves to blame. It is more than a little startling to read a black intellectual referring to racial categories as not particularly significant, as simply "one of the many sorting devices used because of the costliness of individual knowledge." But this is right in line with the analysis of the causes of poverty, all of which Sowell attributes to the "culture" of the impoverished: large families, limited education and unadaptive values result in retarded development. For Sowell, just as unions and progressive organizations had little or no value in alleviating poverty, so today's quotas and affirmative action regulations only cause trouble, inflame passions and encourage the Ku Klux Klan. But *business* progress past and future teaches the unassimilated appropriate norms, provides the optimum psychic climate in which it becomes mutually "profitable to overlook many differences" on the route to affluence and integration. Sowell laments the progress-resistant ethnic legacies such as *machismo* that discourage women from working and forestall the universal two-income family. He genuinely pities the losers—not so much, of course, so as to believe in direct remedies. For him, the causes of poverty are so complex, the problems so deeply cultural, that public policy cannot help. But unrestrained capitalism has and can, of course! Since some individuals always escape poverty and rise to wealth and respectability, even the worst conditions may be considered tests of worthiness for economic citizenship. Keep quiet, work long hours, overcome negative ethnic stereotypes and you'll make it.

Sowell seems not to know that there are people with other goals or that assimilation on individualistic, dog-eat-dog terms has been too high a price for many immigrants and nonwhites to pay for the presumed benefits. *Vi kumpt es, vos du bizt yetzt aza blutzeuger?*—How did it happen that you became a blood-sucker?—aśks an idealistic Jewish needle-worker of his brother, a burgeoning garment boss, in a popular Yiddish short story. The question is almost rhetorical if we grant the premise that money rules every relation. But large elements in the minority communities then and now have seen things differently. The idealist spoke not only for labor militants but for the small shopkeeper whose neighborhood generosity with credit perennially wiped out profits; for the dedicated amateur director of the Catholic (or Communist) choral society that perpetuated the music of the Old Country; for the rebel priest who yesterday supported unions and today embraces the liberation theology of his Latin American brethren.

The choice is a response to the finest traditions in every culture. Group sentiment has often been misused, exploited and apparently blotted out. Nevertheless it remains, and reappears in ever new forms. Novak himself pointed out in 1974 that the corrupt militarism, injustice and sheer madness of the dominant order stirred old memories and inspired a renewed pride in the minority self. Sowell may believe that "little or no African culture survives among American Negroes"; *Commentary* magazine may pillory the radical New Jewish Agenda and ignore the resurgent Slavic-American theater, the flourishing Chicano and Asian-American literary presses. The forms nevertheless continue to provide moments of resistance against marketplace values. If liberals and radicals have themselves been blind to the positive implications of ethnicity, they had better wake up to a truth Louis Adamic understood so well two generations ago: that the most powerful democratic idea in America is not a little capitalism or a lot of one-tone socialism for everyone but rather a dynamic cosmopolitan process by which different groups bring their own special contributions to a common fund. □

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Small Press Establishment

GAIL POOL

THE PUSHCART PRIZE, VI: Best of the Small Presses. *Edited by Bill Henderson. The Pushcart Press. (Distributed by David R. Godine.) 539 pp. $19.95.*

While the United States market for serious literature has been shrinking during the past decade, the number of writers here has steadily increased. The surge has been fed, at least in part, by the popularity of creative writing programs in our colleges, universities and adult education centers. Confronted with a bleak publishing market, many of these writers have taken advantage of new print technologies to start their own magazines and presses. In 1976, *The New York Times Book Review* reported that "approximately 2,000 alternative publishers now exist in the United States and their number is mushrooming."

It is not altogether clear whether the proliferation of small presses is in itself a good thing. Audiences have not suddenly emerged to buy these publications, and the publishers themselves wonder who reads them. Moreover, the glut on the market has in a sense diminished the value of all: in a world where no one has money for publicity, the really excellent small press publications attract no more attention than do the silly, self-serving ones; in a world where, as someone has said, it is almost impossible *not* to get published, publication can lose its value.

How this burgeoning small press movement is related to the traditional role of the small press in America is an interesting question. We can already observe substantial shifts in small press objectives, sources of funding and personnel. Because Bill Henderson's annual Pushcart Prize offers a compilation of "the best of the small presses," it is a useful indicator of some of these shifts, both directly in its selection of worthy poems, stories and essays, and indirectly by its being itself representative of the nature and character of current small press culture.

Since 1976, The Pushcart Press has published *The Pushcart Prize*, an annual compendium of pieces selected from thousands of small press nominations. Broadly, the aims are to give recognition for good work, perhaps saving that work from oblivion, and to build an audience for small press publications.

One of the project's real successes seems to me to be the establishment of a vast network that includes both known and unknown authors and editors, and involves a great many of the usually disparate small presses. Indeed, this networking is a part of a larger efficiency. In its mechanics, its editorial operation, its packaging and its use of marketing techniques, The Pushcart Press has shown a business savvy unknown in, and alien to, the small press world of an earlier era.

Although publishing is in itself obviously a business, small presses traditionally identified themselves as concerned above all with art. They did not set out to lose money, although they did this very well, but neither did they aim to turn a profit. Their goal was to publish the very best literature, as they defined best, whether or not it was salable. Little magazines of the 1920s and 1930s acknowledged their elitism; they did not assume, or hope, that any but a small, highly literate group would be interested in reading what they were publishing. Karl Shapiro, former editor of *Poetry* and of *Prairie Schooner*, once said, "There is not a literary magazine in our society which is both independent and solvent, and there is no solvent literary magazine which is not second-rate." This attitude has been representative of the small press.

That the Pushcart Prize series is aimed at a general audience marks a significant shift of focus. Are audiences today somehow better disposed toward the task of reading difficult and unusual writing? Is there still an avant-garde? Can it be mass-marketed?

In fact, *The Pushcart Prize, VI*, the most recent volume in the series, offers what could be described as a very conservative collection of contemporary writing. Where earlier volumes in the series suffered from an unevenness of quality, this volume is marked by an ex-

Gail Pool, an editor and writer, is a consultant for the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities.

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traordinary evenness, a homogeneity, a literary safeness. There is almost nothing in the collection that could not have been published by a commercial publishing house, provided it still published literature.

The poetry in *The Pushcart Prize, VI* surpasses the fiction in quality. There are some outstanding poems here—"The Widow's Yard," by Isabella Gardner, "At the Far End of a Long Wharf," by Thomas Lux and "Cantina Music," by Derek Walcott, to mention only three. But there are no poems included that take risks or depart from rather traditional expectations.

The fiction in the collection, by contrast with the poetry, is only fair; indeed, much of it is mediocre, flavored with well-crafted but vapid workshop writing. But what is surprising is how doggedly realistic the fiction is. A few of the stories carry this off: Francis Phelan's "Four Ways of Computing Midnight," for example, succeeds—in part because of the skill with which it is written and in part because reality cannot be too real in the Novitiate of the Holy Cross in Rolling Prairie, Indiana. Most of the stories, however, offer a pedestrian brand of realism laced with sentimentality. Certainly the absence of the self-indulgent sort of writing that has too often passed for experimental literature in some small presses is all to the good. Nevertheless, small presses have historically been associated with difficult new writing; one must surely remark on it if a collection of the best of the small presses is as easy and safe as this one is.

The real question is whether the literary safeness of this collection is confined to this book—that is, whether selections were made with a view toward creating a volume acceptable to a large audience—or whether the safeness is representative of what is happening in the small press world itself. Perhaps the function of the small press has shifted from that of clearing new territory to that of cultivating the mainstream.

Of course, one purpose of the small press has always been to publish what cannot be published by commercial houses, and mainstream as well as avant-garde literature may require small press help if big publishers cannot locate audiences for literature.

If the best of the small presses are indeed joining, or in part replacing, traditional literary publishing, one wonders whether they will shed their aversion to commercialism. Indeed, marketing has been a key small-press word during the past few years. Workshops in publicity, advertising and distribution have been held at state arts councils and among small press groups throughout the country. The Pushcart Press, whose Pushcart Prize volume is touted as "The Annual Literary Event," is an example of one small press that has used marketing techniques extremely well.

For most small presses, establishing a goal of fiscal soundness would require a major change in priorities of several sorts. To judge by *The Pushcart Prize, VI*, perhaps this has begun to happen. □

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Business Networking

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

CORPORATE CONTROL, CORPORATE POWER. *By Edward S. Herman. Cambridge University Press. 432 pp. $18.95.*

This brilliant critique of big business by a professor at the Wharton School of Business could hardly be less fashionable. Business now dominates America to a degree not seen since Andrew Mellon gave away the Treasury. The corporate income tax has been cut beyond the most avaricious fantasies; antitrust laws have been virtually put on ice; the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission are being tamed, and the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act will be weakened.

At first glance, Edward Herman's *Corporate Control, Corporate Power* is a fresh look at the classic Berle-Means thesis that corporate management is becoming increasingly separated from ownership, but in fact it is more than that: it is a reasoned and extensively documented analysis of how big American business operates—what it wants and how it is controlled or influenced by its owners, its financiers and the government, how big companies are linked to one another, and what all this means for public policy.

Herman begins by entering into the aged debate as to whether management-run firms emphasize profits or size, and comes up with the not-surprising conclusion that they usually want both—"profitable growth." Managers worry about how the stock market values their companies, but a concern with growth is clearly crucial to them too, as the current wave of mergers shows. The double emphasis is meant to protect managers from takeover bids that can cost them their jobs. The recent bidding for Conoco demonstrates that there is not really much safety in size anymore, nor do profits insure security. As Herman points out, these takeovers, which are concentrating American economic power into fewer and fewer hands, are not of weak or troubled companies—few want to buy losers—but of the profitable ones.

Herman also explores the various ties among big companies, and finds a vast network of interlocking directorates, trade associations, joint ventures and government advisory committees, all of which can dampen competition. In the oil industry, for example, Herman found that more than 90

Herman Schwartz was formerly chief counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust, Monopoly and Business Rights. The views expressed, however, are his own.

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percent of the possible combinations among the twenty largest oil companies have been realized through joint ventures. A Canadian government report has just revealed how big oil has used such joint enterprises—Exxon and some of its joint-venture partners have been accused of billions of dollars' worth of overcharges. An overlooked force in the business network, but properly highlighted here, is the government advisory committee, one of the most important but almost invisible elements of the military-industrial complex. Herman gives an example involving twenty-five of the biggest defense contractors:

> The interests of the advisory group in higher profits and in expedited procedures were carefully attended to, and the Pentagon aided the outsiders' pursuit of foreign military sales by serving as a marketing arm. In turn, the outsiders energetically supported the policy of the insiders (e.g., on the desirability of pursuing the Vietnam War).

What kinds of controls are there on these executives in search of "profitable growth"? Not many. The board of directors is generally hand-picked by management; big institutional investors like banks and insurance companies tend to stay out of decision making, which reinforces management; financiers are no longer interested in operational control, and individual shareholders are notoriously impotent.

Which leaves the government. Herman's bleakest pages describe how business has used government for protection and subsidy, while avoiding any significant controls. Traditional "old regulation" of prices and entry has usually been cartel-oriented; the "new regulation" of health and safety has been fought by business and weakened at every opportunity.

What does all this mean for rational public policy? Herman ends on a particularly discouraging note:

> A powerful campaign has been mounted to contain government; reduce its size—or rate of growth—especially as regards social welfare functions; and diminish its regulatory encroachments, again, especially with respect to [health and safety]. On the other hand, business clamors for government protection, decisive efforts to control inflation, and more consistent and vigorous external actions. This is a whipsaw treatment of government that discredits it and diminishes its moral authority and power when responding to non-business demands, although expecting efficiency and responsiveness in favored directions. Carried out by such a powerful interest group as the business community, this reaction to government holds forth the possibility of a policy stalemate, immobilization of the state, and more erratic and irrational government responses to intensifying conflict.

This picture may be a bit overdrawn. Business still faces some meaningful controls. It hasn't been able to gut the Clean Air Act, for example, or to kill the Occupational Safety and Health Administration or the Environmental Protection Agency. And there are some serpents in its current paradise. Business has won so big that it has no excuses. If, when the country's problems remain unsolved, business is still following Milton Friedman's dictum that its only responsibility is to make money, the rascals will be turned out. Coolidge ultimately led to Roosevelt.

Edward Herman's book is a major event in the study of American business. Smoothly written, encyclopedic in its mastery of the literature and filled with illuminating examples, it will prove invaluable for a long time to come. □

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

My Fair Lady

It comes as something of a shock to realize that nearly twenty-five years have gone by since *My Fair Lady* first appeared on Broadway. During the interim the work has taken on a legendary quality, to the point where calling it the best musical comedy of all time isn't a judgment apt to be strenuously disputed. In my own ratings, *My Fair Lady* is up there with *Pal Joey*, *Guys and Dolls* and, a trifle below them, *Cabaret*. Its book may be a bit weak, especially when one thinks of *Pygmalion*, but its score is a series of inimitable splendors. And so it was in a highly agreeable mood that I sat in the Uris Theatre recently and watched the curtain go up on the opening scene in front of Covent Garden, my memory cast back at the start of this perform-

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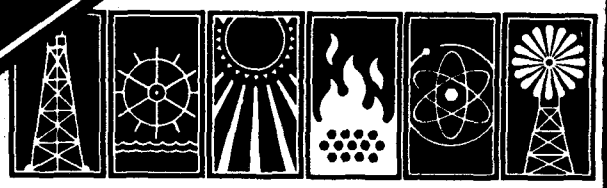

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ance during the current revival to that immensely pleasurable evening I'd had a quarter of a century ago.

I'm sorry to have to say that the pleasure has been considerably diminished. It isn't that the musical doesn't hold up. It certainly isn't that time has injured it, that it dates; *My Fair Lady* was never "timely," never dependent on some shrewd connections to aspects of the *Zeitgeist*, the way most musical comedies—hybrid forms that they are—have always been. It's simply that the present production lacks animation, style, wit, that it feels more like an obligation being met—or, more cynically and more likely, a chance for profit being seized—than a demonstration of enthusiasm or homage.

The revival has some important continuities with the original: the scenic design is still by Oliver Smith, the costumes are still Cecil Beaton's, Cathleen Nesbitt once again plays Henry Higgins's mother and Henry himself is in the hands of his first stage creator, Rex Harrison. The trouble begins right there, for those hands are pretty shaky now; Harrison is nearly 75, and though cosmetics can disguise the more obvious ravages of time, nothing can hide Harrison's stiffness, the slow, cumbersome way he moves, the drift of his energy away from immediate display. He was never able to sing, and learned to "talk" his songs instead, but the talking is much more mechanical now, much less spritely.

Nesbitt must be 90 or more (she was a lover of Rupert Brooke's; Rupert Brooke!) and that shows too. One has to admire this distinguished veteran for getting out there night after night, but her painfully slow progress around the stage and the time she needs to get her speeches out contribute to the production's limping pace. Among the newcomers is Nancy Ringham (making her Broadway debut as Eliza), who has minor gifts but falls very far short of Julie Andrews in brisk charm and vigor, while Milo O'Shea is a milo away from his predecessor Stanley Holloway in the role of Eliza's father.

Beyond these deficiencies of performance, the entire production has a lack of force and decisiveness, a rote quality, as though everyone connected with it assumed that the legend would carry itself. And physically it's slipshod and tacky, something perhaps best exemplified by the three scenes in front of Higgins's house, where the flat totters and a gap large enough for a cockney chorus to pass through keeps appearing in the facade.

Nevertheless. The score. The high moments. When "The Rain in Spain" arrived, I found myself responding as I always have, with an immediate rush of excitement about Eliza's impending triumph over her own tongue, and later with a satisfaction equal to Higgins's as he exclaims, "I think she's got it; by George she's got it!" Similarly, I was caught up anew in the ball scene, relishing Eliza's invented regality, and delighted again by a song like "Wouldn't It Be Loverly," my favorite item in the score. In short, whatever the delinquencies of this revival, there are still pleasures to be had. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Eye of the Needle
Stevie
Camouflage

Of the three pictures I have seen recently, the most proficient is the least aspiring. It is *Eye of the Needle*, a World War II spy thriller, adapted for the screen by Stanley Mann from the novel by Ken Follett. The director is Richard Marquand. This is what we call an entertainment, a restrictive term which does not imply that other forms of drama fail to entertain but only that works of this order undertake to provide no more than diversion by way of a high degree of physical sensation. At the same time, they ought not to be dismissed as "mere" entertainment, for though they forswear, when they are honest, any pretense to higher truth or deeper insight, they employ a spectrum of considerable talents. They are produced according to formulas and are original only in their details, but this reliance on precedents frees their creators to exercise their ingenuity, and people who are successful at such work are prodigiously ingenious. A perfect work of art is as rare as a blue moon, but entertainments grasp their own kind of perfection almost routinely. The routine of the form makes this possible. Entertainments give considerable pleasure, for the most part innocent, and if I don't write of them often, it is because they offer a reviewer little to say beyond the assertion that he enjoyed himself.

I thoroughly enjoyed *Eye of the Needle*, and I would suppose it impossible not to be captivated by Donald Sutherland (code name, The Needle) in the role of a German mole who has been entrusted by Hitler himself to discover where on the western shores of Europe the Allied invaders really intend to strike. To this end he employs agility, quick wits, ruthlessness (he fancies a switch-blade as being quick and quiet) and the toothy charm of a man utterly assimilated to the easy manners and fluent speech of the upper-class Englishman. The entertainment formula moves him around a good bit—from a London backwater to a Midlands army camp to a small island off the west coast of Scotland—and it assists him at critical moments with the loan of an unattended motorcycle, a fishing craft that starts up on the first try, even a lonely and susceptible young woman. But his luck, though good, is not implausibly so, and it has the saving irony of never being quite sufficient. As for the young woman, her circumstances are so melancholy and the stranger's quick (and presumably genuine) admiration is so assuaging that their fierce embraces do not excessively strain the plot. As of course it must, The Needle's luck runs out, and Hitler never gets the firsthand report to confirm his soothsayer's vision of the LSTs on the beaches of Normandy. Accounts of that war are full of yarns, true and fictitious, as to how the *Wehrmacht* was kept guessing. *Eye of the Needle* is fictitious—and one of the best.

Stevie, directed by Robert Enders from Hugh Whitemore's screen version of his celebrated play, is a two-hour monologue pitched at a high level of nervous tension and accompanied by one major and two subsidiary players. The title role must have been exhausting on the stage, and even on the screen it cannot have been easy. Glenda Jackson must apply the full strength of her personality and all the devices of her professional technique to produce a substantial dramatic occasion with

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almost no incidents to buttress the extraordinary portrait created by her voice and gestures.

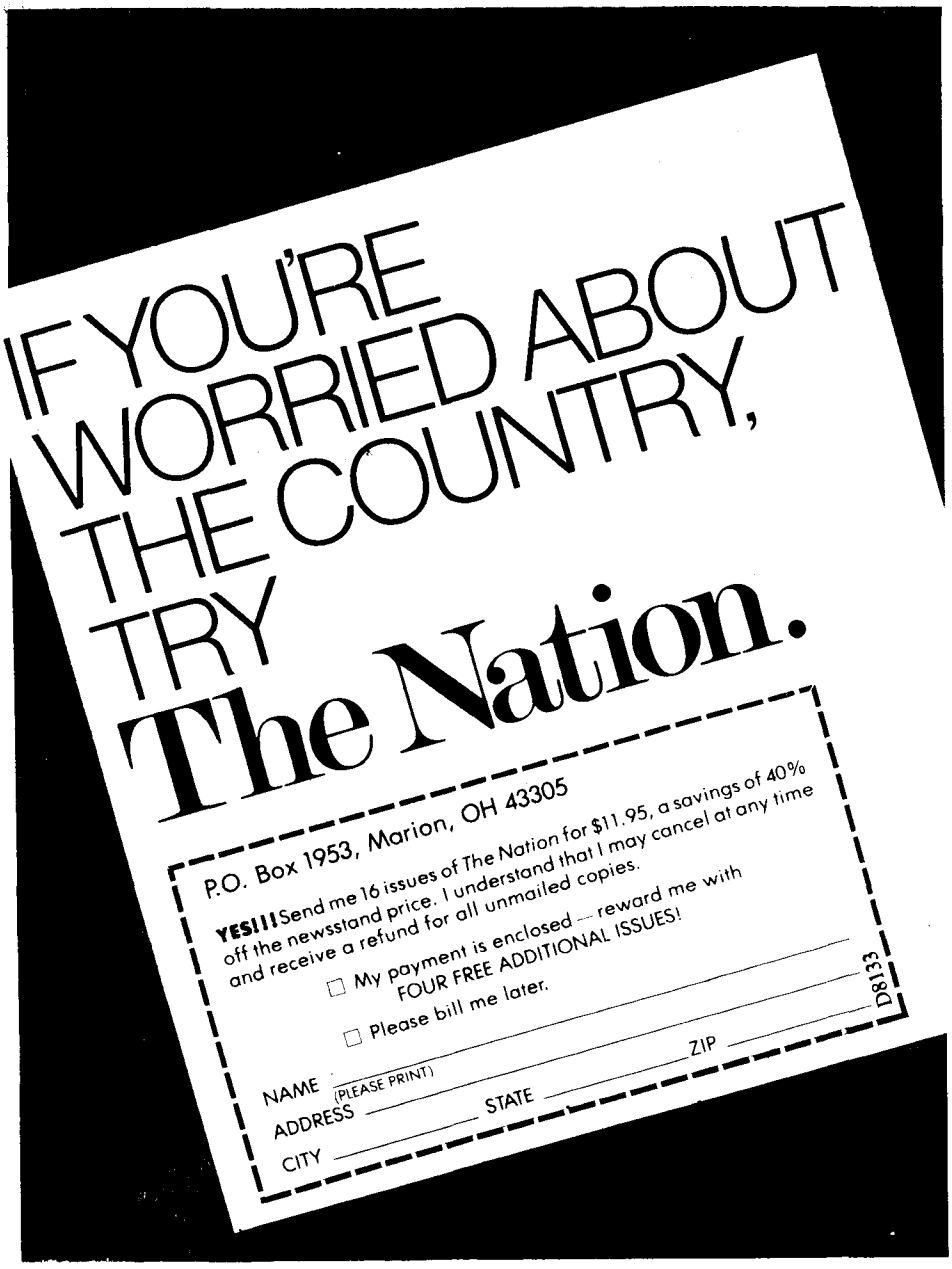
Stevie Smith, the English poet, was born of a father who ran off to sea and a mother who died when Stevie was a small child. She lived almost her entire life with a maiden aunt (Mona Washbourne) in a small house in one of London's quiet suburbs. Except for a few brief views of the neighborhood, the film never leaves the cramped living room of that house. Stevie, a woman who despaired of life, was able nonetheless to endure it because in poetry she could express her feelings with aphoristic shock. Her aunt was the salt of the earth, a bustling homebody who relished her morning paper and her evening sherry, and who dismissed whatever displeased or eluded her as "stuff and nonsense." The two had nothing in common except their love for each other; it is this deep affection and absolute trust that warms the film.

Whitemore has written and Enders directed an homage to a difficult woman, but one of great talent. Jackson, wittily supported by Washbourne, has brought Stevie Smith vividly into our presence. Yet I have a nagging feeling that the film does not do its heroine justice. The method, it seems to me, is too severe. Stevie was no doubt self-concerned and self-protective to a remarkable degree, but by telling her life almost entirely in monologue (and much of that drawn from her highly charged verse), the script makes her seem almost pathologically egocentric. During those many years, she worked at a job in London, and at least occasionally she went to the houses of friends. But all we know of these human contacts are her somewhat mocking (usually self-mocking) accounts of them. The niece and the aunt do not seem to have been recluses, yet only twice does a visitor enter their house. Once, in a flashback, Stevie's fiancé (Alec McCowen) enters, tennis racket in hand, to receive his dismissal. She had decided that his suburban ebullience did not suit her, as clearly it did not. And, late in her life, Trevor Howard appears, as one of the car-owning friends on whom Stevie autocratically sponged, to drive her to a poetry reading. Howard also acts as a kind of chorus for the film, strolling before the camera to supply bits of factual information or to recite apposite lines from Stevie's poetry that presumably couldn't be worked into her monologue. I found this form of eulogy a little embarrassing.

The film's view of Stevie Smith is deliberately narrow—by comparison, Emily Dickinson's life seems feverishly gregarious. It thus concentrates the force of her character, but at the same time, I suspect, stunts it. She may have despaired of life, but she did not avoid it. If nothing else, she worked for a living, and seems to have got on with the people with whom she worked. Like a Hans Memling profile, *Stevie* is intensely expressive and winningly compassionate, but it misses the roundness of life.

Like his compatriot Andrzej Wajda, Krzysztof Zanussi makes the Polish censors uneasy. They let him ply his trade, but only grudgingly, and they especially deplore foreign distribution of his films. Zanussi's *Camouflage* opened in Poland in 1977, with no publicity but to instant public excitement; it has only now been released in the United States.

The absence of official cordiality is easy to understand. *Camouflage* deals with the prevalence of tyranny, sycophancy and cynicism in Polish academic circles. At least I assume that this account of what happened at a summer camp for graduate students is intended to be typical of the educational establishment. The session is to conclude with the awarding of prizes for papers submitted, and the controversy that has set the community on its ear is the unwillingness of the administration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to award first prize to what is obviously the most deserving entry. The trouble is that it advances a disturbingly original, not to say controversial, thesis; and, besides, its author comes from a school that is detested by the camp's absentee rector.

The struggle between the conformists (mostly faculty) and the free spirits (mostly students) is personalized in a running debate between an idealistic, impetuous young instructor and his experienced, charming, but long-corrupted adviser. Truth must prevail, says the younger man; truth is what power endorses, says his mentor, with many Jesuitical flourishes. The day of prize-giving comes. The rector, beefy as a commissar on May Day, arrives with his dotty wife and baby son. The scrolls are given out: first prize to an innocuous, indeed incomprehensible, exercise in academese; a commendation to the brilliant essay, whose author, now berserk, bites the rector's ear. In a sort of epilogue, the young professor and his superior get into a scuffle, after which the former says, "I could almost have killed you." To which the rector's answer is, "Perhaps it would have been as well if you had." And the moral is that corruption of the soul leads to weariness with the world.

Camouflage is interesting as an example of Polish intellectual unrest, but I doubt it will cause much stir in this country. Like Wajda, Zanussi works to expose the ills of his society, but unlike Wajda—whose people are complex and often ambiguous—he employs types to argue right and wrong along lines so obvious that you might think he had just discovered the problem. He hopes, he says, that "American audiences will find in the film something of themselves." So they may, but it is not apt to be something they did not know was there. Principle and compromise are present in every branch of American or any other national life, but for all its faults, this is an open society and the word gets around. You cannot mesmerize an American audience with an extended debate between the champions of justice and the minions of privilege. The peoples of Eastern Europe have been made innocent by dictatorship; they are shocked by the suggestion that lies are told and crimes committed by their governors. I rather envy them, but I cannot share their pained surprise—except when an artist of Wajda's subtlety and steely resolution tells the tale. □

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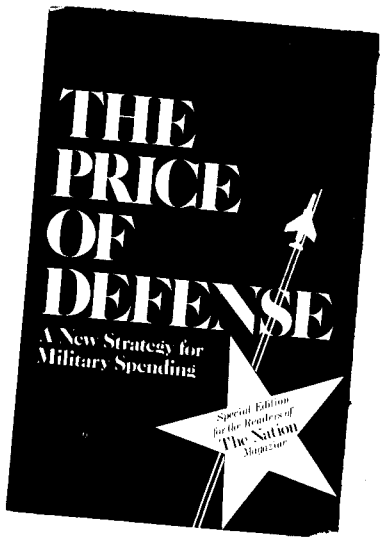

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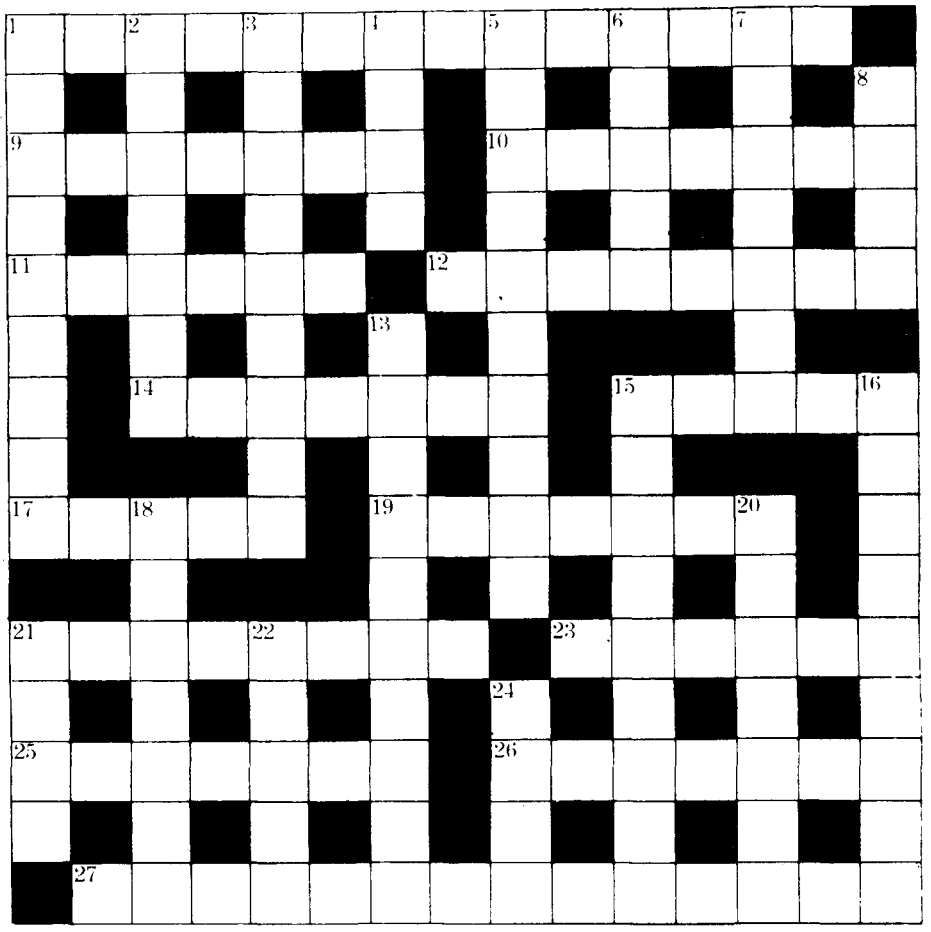

ACROSS

1 It doesn't involve being on board for the old coach operation—it might be just "exit." (5,9)
9 Style with the pen, but one doesn't boast of having it. (7)
10 Several banks are responsible for progress here . . . (7)
11 . . . while these banks used to provide entertainment. (6)
12 Used cars, possibly, but people used to travel on them religiously. (8)
14 One might be quite proud of his spread. (7)
15 Written by a self-proclaimed fool, in the forest possibly. (5)
17 In a direct line, one sees the low spot there. (5)
19 With Al in the country, you'd have another such a long way off. (7)
21 What some streets are supposed to have nowadays with a girl in complete disorder. (8)
23 See 21 down
25 Stage fare around ten, but the representation is on a small scale, usually. (7)
26 General officer? Neither one! (7)
27 Colorless comparison—made with spirit, however. (2,4,2,1,5)

DOWN

1 Is one fool enough to be just plain heavy—not like the long or short type? (9)
2 The town of the Catalan Dove, restored. (7)
3 A 14 might consider one a dude. (9)
4 Form of verse that sounds as though it doesn't work. (4)
5 A carrier of what implies industry and good management. (10)
6 What some take to Niagara? Falls? (5)
7 The end of 2 expected in timely fashion to be late. (7)
8 Vegetables mixed with 24. (4)
13 A shoe with a certain type of runner, not at all expensive, and showing 21 across. (10)
15 An object to peruse inside while preparing the needle. (9)
16 Strict sort of 10 under a bunch of racehorses? (9)
18 They reputedly had hot pants, but fell for such as George. (7)
20 If you like the play lively, write this for those in the pit. (7)
21 and 23 across Just a sharing out of limited style? Some recommend in it all things. (10)
22 Turbulent as any lake. (5)
24 Duplicates the habits of animals. (4)

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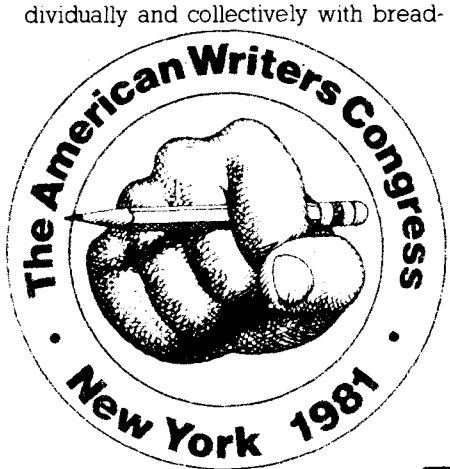

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